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Poland, Russia and America

THE LONG-EXPECTED Polish crisis is now upon us in full fury. The Russian-sponsored Polish Committee of National Liberation at Lublin has changed its name to the Polish Provisional Government. Russia has not yet extended formal recognition to this group, as we go to press, but the action will undoubtedly come soon. The other chief Allied powers are confronted by a dilemma where failure to act is about as decisive as action. Great Britain has already accepted the Russian plan for Poland's future. Indeed, it is now obvious that Mr. Churchill's speech a fortnight ago was an attempt to prepare British and American opinion for the creation of the new Polish government which competes with the Government-in-Exile in London. It seems probable that France is prepared to accept almost anything that Russia wants. The United States has said that it is agreeable to any decision between Russia and Poland made with the consent of both parties. For reasons we shall describe in a moment, this American attitude is almost meaningless.

There are certainly two sides to the Russian action. To take the better side first: there is no doubt that Russia has worked long and patiently to come to an agreement with the Polish Government-in-Exile when, on a basis of sheer physical strength, she was under no obligation to do so. Moreover, she postponed her present action for many months because of objection by the United States. The Government-in-Exile contains a good many violent Russia-haters, and there is no doubt that these men hoped, and possibly some of them even still hope, that Russia will lose the war and that they can seize some of her territory as they did in 1920. Most informed students of the subject believe that the Curzon Line constitutes a good eastern boundary for Poland, although feeling that she should have Lwow. As to whether she should also get most of East Prussia, and Pomerania and Silesia east of the Oder River, the question here is whether Poland would be wise to set up boundaries which the Western powers are not prepared to guarantee, boundaries which would create a lasting subject of bitter tension between herself and Germany.

On paper, at least, the new Lublin government looks respectable. In the cabinet the communists have only four seats out of eleven, the others going to the socialists, peasants and democrats. Defenders of Russia's course insist that this government has the overwhelming support of the people in the liberated section of Poland, and they are lyrical in describing the activities that are going on in those regions. Schools are in full operation, so they say; new colleges have been built—one named for Madame Curie—and old ones reopened. The embarrassing question of dividing the land among the peasants has been postponed for the present. The ration system is so effective that prices in the free market have gone down 35 percent. Polish coöperative societies with a membership of a million are supporting the new regime. And so on.

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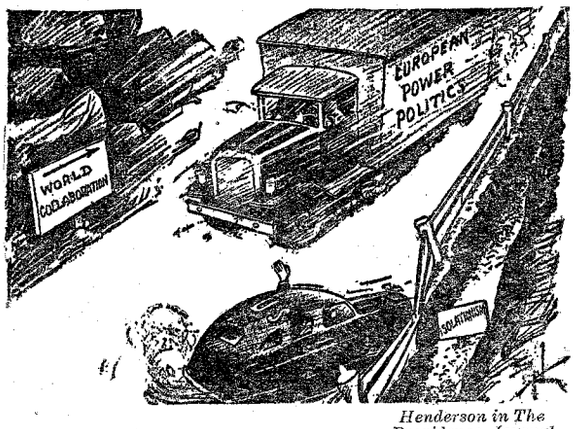
When we turn to the darker side of the picture, we see that Russia's Polish policy is a part of her entire policy in Eastern Europe, which deserves a good deal more attention than it has been getting.

American liberals have always had a tendency to look at Russian policy through rose-tinted glasses. For this there are several reasons: first, they built great hopes on the Russian experiment in 1917, and are inclined to cling to those hopes longer than it is sensible to do so. Second, Russia has been lied about so thoroughly in the American conservative press that the liberals have overreacted in the opposite direction. Third, they have tended to excuse the weaknesses of Russian policy on the ground, certainly justified in part, that the USSR was in a revolutionary situation, threatened both by civil war and foreign aggression. Fourth, since December, 1941, Russia has been our indispensable ally in a war which for a long time was going very badly against us, a war in which the magnificent courage of her armies won the admiration of the world.

Certainly there are many good things about Russia, as well as many bad ones. It is not true that Stalin wields sole power or that Russia is a monolith; there are conflicting currents of doctrine, and part of Stalin's strength is his ability to ride them skillfully. The Russians are terribly suspicious of the West, terribly and unnecessarily secretive. Most important of all is the fact that the top Russian figures are not Western liberals, as we keep trying to pretend they are, but Russian communists; they reject, in theory and practice, a great part of what they call "bourgeois morality." They are quite willing to participate in collective security, and they once tried hard to make it a reality at Geneva. They don't really believe, however, that collective security is likely, and they are determined not to be caught unprepared if it should fail.

Therefore, they do many things of which no American liberal can approve. They do business with bad characters like Mannerheim in Finland, Generals Sanatescu and Radescu in Rumania, Colonels Gheorgieff and Veltcheff in Bulgaria and General Miklos in Hungary. They clamp down an iron curtain of secrecy on the countries they have overrun—Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland. Even in Russia itself, American correspondents wear blinders—so much so that The Philadelphia Inquirer recently recalled its strongly pro-Russian correspondent, Alexander Kendrick, in disgust at his failure to get any real news. Russia has done nothing so inexcusably crass and bungling as the British military intervention in Greece; but she has done many things which come under the heading of plain power politics, just as Britain has done—and just as the United States has done and is doing, in terms of our own special interests, which are economic where Britain's are imperial and Russia's are geographical.



Henderson in The Providence Journal

Hardly a One-Way Street

After the last war, men of good will relied upon plebiscites and self-determination as the hopeful formula for the future, but today the world is disillusioned about these mechanisms. We know that plebiscites can be influenced and that the alternatives before a population can be such that most people don't want either one of them. What real value is there in a plebiscite in the Baltic state, for example, with only one party, the Communist, on the ticket, and with the middle class convinced that its days are numbered, in any case? What about the people of Greece who, in a plebiscite tomorrow, would have to choose between a regime pretty far to the Left and one dominated by royalist-fascist elements? That is why there is no reality to the American State Department's announcement that we consent to any settlement of the Polish-Russian boundary that is agreeable to both nations. A very great part of the Polish people is not in fact consulted, and cannot at present be consulted.

As we point out elsewhere in this issue, the powers of the American government and public opinion in this situation are severely limited. Keeping the Allies together for the purpose of winning the war is more important than anything else. Even if it weren't, our bargaining powers with either Britain or Russia are small, and in all honesty it must be added that our own hands are far from clean.

Nevertheless, there are some things that we can and should do. We can work for the immediate creation of a United Nations Council. Mr. Walter Lippmann argues that such a council is undesirable because it would force out into the open major conflicts that had better be left undisturbed until the war is over; but as to this, there are three comments to be made. First, some of these questions are emerging anyhow; second, some of them ought to emerge; and third, a United Nations Council is just as capable of discreet evasion, when necessary, as are the Big Three or Big Four or Big Five. In the absence of the United Nations Council, the shape of the postwar world is being set along the lines of old-fashioned imperialism, power politics and economic rivalry. It need not interfere with the war—indeed, it should aid the war—to take steps now for the creation of a better world, one in

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which another war a few years hence is less rather than more likely.

With both Great Britain and Russia, we can work for the solution of problems in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, always remembering, however, that even though we don't get exactly what we want at the first try, we are in no position to pick up our rag dolls and go home. In regard to Russia, we must seek by genuine and continuous friendliness of policy to relax the deep suspicion of the West which colors Russian thinking so completely today. Political freedom will not emerge in that country so long as the dominant group believes that its enemies at home are plotting with its enemies abroad. Quite possibly, every verbal attack by American Russophobes prolongs the continued mistreatment of Russian political prisoners in Siberian labor camps. Russian fears of the rest of the world are undoubtedly exaggerated; but they will never be put at rest until we give convincing evidence that we have actually and permanently renounced predatory private capitalism and the military imperialism that goes with it.

Criticizing Our Strategy

The halt of the German drive has been the signal for releasing, for the first time in the war, a considerable amount of genuine military criticism. The earlier setbacks at Faïd Pass, Salerno and Anzio produced only the obvious remarks about underestimating the enemy. This time there has been some effort to deal in questions of strategy, but the total effect has been to darken counsel to a painful degree.

Most of the critics put the finger on General Eisenhower, which is correct enough, since supreme command includes supreme responsibility. Practically all are agreed that the defeat could have been avoided had he given Allied strategy since August a somewhat different direction (which is by no means so certain), but at this point agreement ceases. A considerable body of British opinion, most clearly expressed by General J. F. C. Fuller, holds that the error lay in not throwing merely screening forces toward Alsace and Lorraine and striking toward Holland with the full strength of the Allied armies. Mr. Russell Hill (in

On the Borders of the Empire

One of the most striking features of the Nazis' over-all strategy has been their willingness to make fighting retreats from areas beyond the limits of what is considered the genuine property of the Reich, followed by savage counter-attacks as soon as the borders are reached. Because we consider Germany as having a different set of boundaries, we ought not to overlook the fact that Hitler's own Germany follows the limits of the old German Empire before 1648. Everywhere but in Hungary and a part of the Western front, he now stands on those limits. In Hungary the frontier of the "true Germany" has not quite been reached; in Alsace, Lorraine and the Rhineland it has been crossed by a little.

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The New York Herald Tribune) represents a body of opinion which concurs that the principle of concentration was violated, but holds that the error lay in going toward Holland with anything at all. He would have preferred the use of General Brereton's air-borne army to seize a Rhine crossing at Cologne, with a smallish armored force linking up to it.

Victory at a High Price

These concentrationists overlook the fact that no real concentration was or even yet is possible, because the Germans still hold so many of the French ports that the lines of communication will hardly bear the weight of supporting an effort by a major fraction of the Allied armies on any one part of the western front. But they do not represent the old line of criticism. Several London dispatches and at least one unsigned AP summary consider that the fault lay in Eisenhower's failure to delegate authority, which resulted in insufficient attention being given to such subordinate commanders as the one (he has not been named) who failed to scout adequately along the line of the break-through.

The fact is that as long as one party in a war possesses any mass of maneuver whatever, he can nearly always obtain a local victory somewhere if willing to pay the price of accepting a defeat in some other place. Even the Americans of Bataan, in a situation as desperate as can well be imagined, did it; and the Germans are paying through the nose at Budapest for what they have gained in Belgium.

Germany's Political Purpose

We have been told many times that in Hitler we are fighting not a war but a revolution, yet the political character of German military strategy is still insufficiently realized. The blow in the west was timed to draw the utmost possible advantage from reported discords among the Big Three—how convenient it would have been for Hitler if he could have persuaded us and the British to insist that Russia undertake something to relieve pressure on the western front! The minor German attack in west Italy has no easily discernible objective in a purely military sense; but it was delivered against the sector held by the Brazilians and the Negro troops of the Ninety-second Division, and it would suit the German book admirably if they could be made to crack.

Similarly, the Germans do not so very much mind losing Budapest to get a victory in the west; and as this issue goes to press, they seem quite willing to sacrifice still more of Hungary to make an offensive in Alsace. The objective of von Rundstedt's drive was given with perfect frankness as that of clearing Allied troops from German soil. Hitler has long posed as the restorer under better terms of the old Germanic Empire, the empire of the days before the Thirty Years' War; the document he wishes to revise is not so much the Treaty of Versailles as the Treaty of Westphalia.

The territory now held by the Germans follows the lines of that old empire surprisingly well, even including northern Italy, Denmark and the enclave in Latvia. Only Alsace, Lorraine and the little salient toward Düren have been conquered from what the Third Reich regards as its own; and unless the Russians get into some other part of what is considered as the true Germany, our armies in the west are likely to receive the main attention of Hitler's forces for some time.

Those Japanese Admirals

The deaths of incredible numbers of Japanese admirals have excited some wonderment, but they should not. It is an old tradition in Japan to confer posthumous honors on state servants; both Togo and Nogi of the Russian war were ennobled after death, for instance. The suggestion is that the procedure is merely being repeated, and most of these admirals are simply captains who did not live to learn of their new rank.

Mr. Churchill and the Greeks

Mr. Churchill showed great physical courage, and an acute realization of the mess into which he has got himself, by his trip to Athens to confer with the leaders of the Greek factions. He has also climbed rapidly if not too gracefully part way down from his tree, by forcing King George of Greece to accept a regency. On January 2 it looked as though the armistice which seemed to be in sight would represent a substantial moral victory for ELAS, with all factions simultaneously disarmed and a new government in which the leftist groups would have one-half of the power. Such a solution, if it comes, will make more than ever apparent the ghastly blunder Churchill committed in the first place. All over Europe, this pattern is being repeated in one form or another. The best comment we have seen on this subject comes from a conservative writer, Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, in the conservative New York Times:

> In every country resistance forces are a troublesome element, and will be more so unless some outlet is found for their energy and revolutionary spirit. Most of them are only nominal Communists, but unless they are fed, clothed, given work to do and a sense of responsibility and self-respect, they will certainly become militant "antis," either Communist or Fascist. More than lines on the map, these aggrieved and bewildered youths will make the future pattern of Europe. In dealing with them the Allied powers are dealing with the future, so far with a singular lack of understanding, vision or political sense.

What about Franco?

When Great Britain and the United States simultaneously called home their ambassadors to Spain, both of whom had been accused of being unduly sym-

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pathetic with Franco, it was assumed that a change in the policy of these two governments was impending. Yet up to the New Year, nothing had been done. Franco's economy was still functioning on American gasoline and lubricating oil; his regime was bolstered up only by the general assumption of American and British friendship. While it is true that he is now less able to help Hitler than he was before the invasion of France, there is no doubt that he is doing all he can for the Nazis. As we point out above, recent Allied reverses in Belgium have come partly because of our supply problem, made much worse since the Germans still hold several French ports. There are well authenticated charges that Franco continues to help these isolated pockets of Nazi resistance. Up to noon on Tuesday, January 2, the British government still persisted in its outrageous refusal to permit Dr. Juan Negrín to broadcast to the anti-Franco rally in New York conducted by the Nation Associates. We predict that twenty years from now, Anglo-American appeasement of Franco will look even worse—even more unjustified by the facts—than it does today.

Behind Montgomery Ward

When the war began, it was obvious that a truce was necessary in the running warfare between employers and organized labor in the United States. Such a truce was therefore worked out and accepted on both sides. Labor gave up the right to strike in exchange for a promise that employers would not attempt to weaken the position of the unions. It was agreed that in plants with labor-union contracts, individuals should be given a "breathing space" in which they might resign after a new contract had been signed; but from then on, for the life of the contract, they could not leave the union without forfeiting their jobs. This was a reasonable and patriotic arrangement, honorably observed by the great majority of employers and unions ever since. Among the few exceptions is the Montgomery Ward Company, which, solely because of the rigidly reactionary character of its president, Mr. S. L. Avery, has conducted an unceasing battle with the WLB. It has tried for long periods to pay wages which were officially designated as substandard. It has fought hard to avoid signing a contract with a union, and has then refused to renew a contract when it expired. It is obvious that the War Labor Board must control Montgomery Ward or go out of business, at great peril to the winning of the war. It is obvious also that morally and legally the government is in the right.

Let Them Out

We rise to suggest that this would be a good time for the British to set free the political prisoners in India. They include nearly every leader of the Indian National Congress except Mr. Gandhi, who was released only because the British thought he was about to die in prison. The original argument was that, with the Japanese on the borders of India, political unrest was a liability which the military effort could not afford. The argument was never a good one; the Indians did not and do not want the Japanese to win the war, any more than the rest of us do. But in any case, it now falls entirely to the ground. The Japanese have been pushed back so far from the borders of India that all danger of a new invasion now seems negligible. To keep the Indian leaders in prison is a violation of every fundamental democratic process. It also makes impossible what the British keep saying they want—an agreement between Moslems and Hindus, so that withdrawal of the British would not result in a religious-political civil war. It is true that the talks between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah broke down; this might have been predicted. The conversations should have been between a committee of the Indian National Congress and a committee representing the responsible elements in the Moslem League. Just as long as the British keep the Indian leaders locked up without the shadow of an excuse, just so long will the good faith of the London government be questioned.

All Over the World

Aside from helping to fight this war, the biggest and best thing the United States has done in recent years, in the eyes of the rest of the world, has been the TVA. As Morris Llewellyn Cooke pointed out in The New Republic of December 18, engineers from all over the world have been making pilgrimages to Knoxville to find out just what we have done and how we have done it. The Wall Street Journal a short time ago listed projects in India, Russia, China, Great Britain, South America and Poland, and it might have added French West Africa and, as soon as war conditions permit, the countries of the Danube. India will build a mile-long dam on the Godavaris River, a hundred miles from the Bay of Bengal, which will irrigate millions of acres, control floods and develop hydroelectric power. Another vast project on the Upper Ganges will be created; in all, India plans to generate 700,000 kilowatts, nearly as much as the TVA itself. In Uruguay, a great dam on the Rio Negro will furnish current for Montevideo, relieving a critical shortage of fuel for steam coal plants, which are now burning a mixture of corn and sunflower seeds. There are projects also in Brazil, Chile, Peru and Mexico, most of them aided with funds from the United States Export Import Bank. Russia is building 13 big dams. China will create TVA's on four of her unruly rivers. England and Scotland are planning dozens of small installations at various places. The work already done on the Niger River in French West Africa is transforming a whole region. Many of these dams, power plants and other facilities all over the world are using our equipment and brains, to the tune of many hun-

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dreds of millions of dollars. We hope the American conservatives who did their best to prevent the TVA from ever coming into being will ponder these facts.

Negroes and Whites in Louisville

Reports from various Northern cities indicate that there is still great tension between Negroes and whites in more than one community. People who know the facts would not be surprised to see a renewal of the Detroit riots, or similar outbreaks in any of half a dozen cities. That these conditions are not inevitable, and can be offset by vigorous, intelligent action, is shown by the situation in Louisville, Kentucky. There, according to an article in the November Fortune, coöperation has been maintained between the races in spite of an enormous influx of war workers, great overcrowding and all the other elements that have made trouble elsewhere. Fortune attributes the comparatively satisfactory situation of Louisville to its mayor, W. W. Wyatt. Since he took office late in 1941, he has doubled the number of Negroes on the police force, made three of them sergeants for the first time in Louisville's history, appointed Negroes to serve on numerous city boards and commissions and raised the pay of Negro school teachers. A Negro wing has been established in the city tuberculosis hospital, with 100 beds. Negroes get their fair share of the public housing that has been erected. Many cities, both North and South, might study Louisville's condition with profit.

People in the Limelight: IV

American liberals owe a larger debt of gratitude to Senator Harley M. Kilgore (D., W. Va.) than most of them realize. This former attorney and judge, a World War veteran who celebrates his fifty-first birthday this week, has done a fine job in several fields. He has worked hard on the problems of international cartels, domestic monopolies in railroads and communications, and postwar economic collaboration. We have him to thank, in large part, that the official plans for reconversion, certainly not very good, are not a great deal worse. He has sponsored the idea of government aid to scientific research; and while his bill in this field is probably not the final and best form of the proposal, it has had the great merit of opening up public discussion on an important issue where the common good certainly lies with Senator Kilgore's side of the fight. In The New Republic's most recent voting chart, he had only one wrong vote, by our standards, out of eighteen, though he was absent twice. A hard worker and a hard fighter, he is well liked, even by his opponents—and it is not easy to think of a greater testimonial to any man in American public life.

The World After the War

II. What to Do with Germany

THE GREAT GERMAN OFFENSIVE has had at least one good effect. It has discouraged, for the time being, talk about what to do with Germany. There has been far too much such talk, and too much of it has been based on the complacent and erroneous assumption that the war is just about over. Some of this talk has in fact been of a sort likely to prolong the war, by making the Germans fight harder than ever. On the whole, however, we doubt whether this effect has been very serious. The Nazis are quite capable of terrifying the rest of the Germans into desperate resistance, without any aid from ferocious Americans who propose their wholesale extermination. This editorial is not an attempt to add another prescription to a list that is too long already; it is an attempt to analyze some of the limits within which that attempt must ultimately be made.

Every sensible person should realize that it is impossible now to say in detail "what should be done with Germany." We do not know when the war will end, or on what terms, or the relative roles that will be played by the United States, Britain, Russia—or France. It is naïve in the extreme for Americans to pontificate about the future of Germany without taking into account the fact that any general policy must have the consent of these three other powers—something which, by itself, almost automatically bars any extremist course. For that matter, we don't know how much of Germany will be left by the time peace is declared, or even how much of it is left today. Some of the advocates of what is called "a hard peace" seem to assume that the German physical and social organization is still competely intact. On the contrary, there is good reason to believe that both of them have already been badly shaken. In one sense, the Germans, whatever their degree of complicity, are being, and have been, caused to suffer gravely for crimes committed by their government.

There are few who would deny that the Nazis should be severely punished in the same sense that an insane murderer must be severely dealt with for his crimes. The Allies are supposed to have a list of about 160,000 known Nazi criminals, with the names and dates of their misdeeds. It is already planned to give these men trials and to mete out appropriate retribution when they are found guilty. We need not argue particularly as to whether the Nazis are wicked or psychopathic, or whether indeed there is any difference between the two things. It is reasonably certain that they are beyond salvage as human material, and they

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will undoubtedly in the majority of cases be executed or given life imprisonment—assuming, that is, that the Allies stick together and maintain their purpose long enough to punish the Nazis at all. If they don't do this, then the whole discussion becomes academic.

There are those who say that every German is as guilty as every other, that they should all be punished equally, that it is foolish to make a distinction between Nazis and non-Nazis. If these people had their way, it would probably mean that no German would be punished at all, for reasons we shall describe in a moment. But in any case, their contention can be destroyed with a few words. Would you punish those democratic Germans who are now being tortured in German concentration camps for their opposition to Nazism? Would you punish the remaining members of the heroic German underground, who have been fighting on our side throughout the war (they have been in contact for all this period with the French Maquis)? Would you punish the wives and children of men in these two groups, who undoubtedly share the views of their husbands and fathers? Would you punish year-old children? Those who are five? Those who are ten? Nobody would recommend any such thing; and as soon as you admit that there are some good Germans as well as bad ones, the entire argument for wholesale execution or other drastic punishment of the entire German nation falls to the ground.

We assume that no New Republic reader is foolish enough to put any faith in the notion of hereditary, constitutional malevolence in character, which sets Germans apart from other human beings as being hopeless and perennial savages. No reputable scientist would admit the possibility of such a thing. There are no inherited racial *cultural* characteristics. What the Nazis are is what they have been trained to be, plus in a few cases pathological traits physical in origin, like epilepsy, and subject, like epilepsy, to the Mendelian law. The notion that the Germans are in some sense subhuman is just the Aryan myth of race superiority in reverse, and it makes no more sense one way than the other.

Equally foolish is the argument of those who have recently developed a passion for population statistics, who say that the Germans should be executed, or sterilized, because they have cold-bloodedly tried to destroy the populations of surrounding countries. It is true that the Nazis have talked a good deal about wholesale extermination of their neighbors, and have tried it on a huge scale, mainly in Poland. Theirs is one of the basest crimes in all history, and it should be recorded as such. At the same time, no real expert in this subject would admit that either the number of people the Germans have put to death or the differential birth rates in Germany and neighboring countries will be of military significance during the all-important next 25 or 30 years. Size of population is only one element, not necessarily the most important, in the military power of a country. The amount and degree of technology and industrialization, the morale of the entire population, and above all, whether general prosperity exists, are all factors of equal or greater importance in determining the war potential and the danger of aggression.

When we face the problem of what should be done with Germany, there are in our opinion at least three principles that must be kept in mind:

First, we should attempt nothing that is out of harmony with our own standards of civilized conduct. We should almost certainly fail in such an attempt, but even if we succeeded, we should have destroyed the whole significance of the war so far as we ourselves are concerned. If the struggle has any meaning at all, it is a war for civilization. Why should we throw away the fruits of victory by ourselves going down to the Nazi level?

Second, every proposal for dealing with Germany should be tested by one yardstick: Does it make a third world war more or less likely? If the former, it should be discarded, no matter how much it may appeal to the blood-lust of the psychopaths in our own population.

Third, we should make no plans which require for their execution a continuance of the present alliance over many years, when all history teaches us that such a long continued alliance is overwhelmingly unlikely.

As a corollary to this last principle, it is obvious that the future of Europe should be turned over as soon as possible and as completely as possible to a permanent United Nations organization, which will not be subject to the same strains that will afflict the alliance. Such an organization will be far more effective than the alliance in encouraging the steady progress toward democracy, economic and political, which is the only hope the future holds.

This is the second of a series of editorials on the world after the war. The third will deal with the future of imperialism.—THE EDITORS

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

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The St. Lawrence Fight

IF THIS WAR has taught anything, it is that to survive in war or in peace nations must develop and conserve their natural and human resources. Russia could never have defended herself against the German attack had it not been for the Soviet industrial strength. The United States could not have become the arsenal of democracy had we not had the industrial plant and the human knowledge and ability to get the most out of it. Who would deny, for example, the great roles that have been played in this war by our trained engineers and technicians, by our economists and scientists, by the steel industry, or by the TVA and Boulder Dam? Who would deny that without the human and physical wealth which they represent the peacetime future of this country would be uncertain?

In 1934, the United States had an unusual opportunity to make itself both richer and stronger. In that year of depression, the country had a chance to take a step to help overcome the depression, to develop its resources and the trade opportunities of a third of its population, and to make the country immensely stronger to meet a war emergency. But a minority of United States Senators, acting against the urgent advice of former Presidents Coolidge and Hoover and of President Roosevelt, said no. Some were being obstinate for purely selfish and local considerations; others were just too near-sighted to understand. Partisan politics was not a factor.

The vote was on the proposal to ratify a treaty between the United States and Canada for the completion of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Deep Waterway, more commonly known as the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development. A majority of the Senators favored the treaty, which had been negotiated by Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson after the groundwork for it had been laid by President Coolidge and his Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover. But a two-thirds vote was required. The two New York Senators were against the treaty because they were afraid certain railroad and commercial interests in Buffalo might be damaged. The two Illinois Senators voted against the treaty because they thought some harm might be done to the Chicago Drainage Canal. The two Louisiana Senators opposed the treaty because they thought some river traffic might be diverted from the Mississippi to the St. Lawrence. Other Senators had their own private reasons for opposition. Some said the project was uneconomical.

The best answer to the last group had come from Calvin Coolidge, who was not, according to the historians, noted as a spendthrift. He told Congress that the project was "not incompatible with economy." He explained that it "does not require so much a public expenditure as a capital investment which will be reproductive." He foresaw "much future industrial and agricultural progress" from the development of the waterway and "the addition of a great amount of cheap power and cheap freight by use of navigation."

Nevertheless, a minority of the Senate defeated the majority, and a development that would have added enormous power to the American military machine in this war went by the board. In 1941, with war very close to our shores, an attempt was made to revive the project, but it had to be abandoned after Pearl Harbor.

Now a new attempt is being made to develop this great river and to tap its wealth. Senator George D. Aiken, a Vermont Republican, is leading the fight for the development. The President is very much for it. Governor Dewey has given it his blessing. Mr. Hoover has offered his assistance. This time an attempt will be made to have the project approved by act of Congress, requiring a simple majority vote in both houses. Many persons thought in 1933 that the matter should have been handled that way instead of by treaty. They argued that the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty with Canada expressly provided that further agreements affecting the St. Lawrence might be put into effect by concurrent legislation, and it is under that authority that Senator Aiken is working. Representative William A. Pittenger of Minnesota is author of a companion measure in the House. The outlook for favorable action early in 1945 is fair, but there is powerful railroad and private-power opposition.

Senator Aiken's attempt to include authorization of the project in the rivers and harbors bill passed by the Senate on December 12 was probably a mistake in tactics. The vote against his amendment was overwhelming, and it will be an obstacle to overcome when the measure is considered by the new Congress.

The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development and the Missouri Valley Authority are two projects which should be at the top of the list of all postwar planners. They will provide considerable employment. They represent public investments in the country and its resources. The actual cash outlay needed will not be great. The effect on freight rates will be beneficial to trade. The lower rates will stimulate commerce over a large area and open new markets to American industry and agriculture. The cheap power developed will make way for new enterprises and provide new business for the railroads, which think they will be hurt by the projects. The St. Lawrence development will open the entire Great Lakes region to direct seagoing traffic.

The St. Lawrence project is of major importance to Duluth, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, Cleve-

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land, Buffalo and other cities on the Great Lakes. It would open their ports to ships from all over the world. Cargoes of grain, beef and manufactured products would leave for every part of the world.

From the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Montreal, the river has been improved by Canada to a minimum depth of 38 feet. What remains to be done is to open the river from Montreal to Ogdensburg, New York, a distance of about 100 miles, by the construction of a series of dams, locks and canals. The principal work would be done over a 48-mile section known as the International Rapids. That is the chief obstacle that keeps oceangoing vessels from reaching the Great Lakes. Dredging would have to be done in the Welland Canal between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie and at one or two other points to provide a minimum depth of 27 feet, suitable for all but the largest ships. A lock would have to be constructed and dredging done at St. Mary's River, which connects Lake Superior and Lake Huron. All of which would open a 2,700-mile waterway into the heart of the continent.

Plans also call for the construction of a power plant at the International Rapids which would produce more electric energy than the entire TVA system and three times as much as the famous Dnieper Dam ever produced. It is expected that 2,200,000 horsepower of energy would be available, or 13 billion kilowatt hours annually, half going to Canada and half to the United States. Moreover, the power would be the cheapest in the United States, and its benefits, on the American side, would be felt in New York and most of New England. The United States-Canadian agreement provides that an additional 700,000 horsepower may be produced on the American side of Niagara Falls.

In 1930 the engineering firm of Hugh L. Cooper and Company, which later built the Dnieper Dam, offered, on behalf of subsidiaries of the Aluminum Company of America, the General Electric Company and the duPont Company, to construct the waterway without cost to the Canadian or American governments if it could have freedom to develop the electric power. The offer, fortunately, was rejected as not being in the public interest.

The total cost of all the work to be done on the waterway and the power development would be $421 million, of which the United States would pay $277 million and Canada $144 million. Canada already has spent $140 million, chiefly on improving the Welland Canal, and that would be credited to her. Of the amount to be spent by the United States, $93,375,000 would be repaid by New York to cover the cost allocated to power development in the state.

When opponents of the St. Lawrence development appeared before a House committee in 1941 they argued that manpower was not available. They said that 100,000 men, 80 percent of whom would be skilled or semi-skilled, would be required for four years. In the postwar period, that will be an argument for the project. Only 11,500 men will be required for four years in the actual construction work, but others will be needed to deepen the harbors on Great Lakes ports, to manufacture necessary materials, and in transportation. Additional numbers will be needed for carpentry and services.

Arguments against the project have come primarily from the railroads and power interests that fear competition. Senator Aiken calls the fears of the railroads "nonsense." "The electric energy that will be produced at the Massena dam alone will create more than enough new business in northeastern America to offset the total tonnage that will be carried through the St. Lawrence Seaway," the Senator says. "I venture to predict that the railroads of America will have plenty of difficulty in maintaining facilities to handle the business which they must handle in the expanded commercial era which lies ahead." The arguments against the St. Lawrence are the same that were made against the railroads a century ago and which the railroads later used against the Panama Canal.

The opening of the St. Lawrence to ocean shipping has been a dream of the Middle West since Lincoln's day. He spoke of it often. Forty millions of persons in the Great Lakes area today would find their cost of living reduced by the development and its resulting effect on freight rates in and out of the region. In the postwar period, when new enterprise is needed to keep the economy functioning at a high level, the St. Lawrence development should be an almost ideal public investment for the American taxpayer.

Washington CARROLL KILPATRICK

Topical Notes from England

Winter, 1944

Epitaph

Unnumbered and unnamed, the dead lie here:
No need to number them, these men were free;
No need to name, Athenian Greeks lie here.

Planes over Athens

From winter skies whose eagles? Zeus alone
Knows, but not eagles! These are strange
Reluctant birds, and woebegone; they range
To find a carrion corpse. There's none such here.

Burying the British Dead

The thing we did is done, but they
Who lie here dead will rise, another day.

Press Summary

Who died for what? Here some died that the rest
Should like life more than dying; and some lie
Uneasy, homesick here, at the behest
Of others, dead for nothing. Some just lie.

Inscription

Here many valorous fell, and all were Greeks.

VALENTINE ACKLAND

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Journey in America: VIII

MONTANA.—"Go West, young man," doesn't seem to be advice which Americans are taking about Montana. They haven't been taking it for the last 25 years, for in that time Montana has lost population steadily. And the pace has been increasing since the war started. A count of ration books indicates that 90,000 fewer people are here than before the war, which leaves about as many people as live in Cincinnati in an area as wide as the distance between New York City and Toledo.

Many are the reasons which are given for the paucity of people here. Underlying all the reasons of social, political and economic consequence is the great hold of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. Referred to as "The Company" by everyone, its influence extends into every nook and cranny of the state and is felt everywhere. The easy parallel, which occurs to the observer, is with Alabama or Georgia in the Deep South, where absentee ownership has long held overlordship. But the comparison doesn't go all the way. Much of Montana's resources are still untapped, while in the South they have been exploited for a hundred years. Labor and the farmers are much farther along in organization, and the standard of living is considerably higher. There the differences in Montana's favor end. Faced with the feudal barony that Montana is, the wonder is how it came about that the people of this state surrendered its birthright and its treasure without losing a civil war as the South did.

The answer comes piecemeal from the heads of the state government, the Chambers of Commerce, the bankers, the merchants and the labor unions. After the gold strike came the discovery of copper and "the Richest Hill on Earth" in Butte. The fight for control of that hill is an epic of lusty banditry. When the smoke of battle had cleared away, "The Company" owned the hill and proceeded to get on with the business of owning the state. Largest user of electric power in Montana, "The Company" early moved in on the utilities; as the greatest shipper on the railroads, it found friends in the Jim Hills and other magnates; Anaconda, the state's richest firm, soon took Montana's banks in tow. Able and willing to influence legislators, "The Company's" control of town and state was soon accomplished. Newspapers came under "The Company's" wing; public opinion was molded. The circle complete, America's largest feudal empire was carved out, its area the third largest state, its castle the rich hill which lies in Butte and casts its shadow over Montana.

On that sequence of events, nearly everyone, even legislators who do "The Company's" bidding, agree. It makes for a distrust which permeates almost everyone. It has closed off the avenues to small business so that manufacturing is practically nonexistent and venture capital all but unheard-of. Yet naturally evoking a protest, it has produced radicals and progressive leaders who are sometimes elected to office and who make their voices heard in Helena, the state capital, and in Washington, D. C. If the direct control of "The Company" were not enough to throttle free manufacturing enterprise, the constriction of freight rates would go far by itself. For it costs more to ship a finished article originating in this state from one corner of it to another than it does to ship that same article in unfinished form to Boston. That inequity and the resultant hopelessness of competing in manufacturing have turned Montana's thinking toward greater production of agricultural products, a viewpoint which "The Company" encourages. Even here Nature has placed a handicap on this huge state, for Montana is unfortunately semi-arid. If it is to place its eggs in the raw-agricultural-product basket, it must have irrigation. Montana's water will not be accessible until it has been dammed. Only the federal government can do that, and most of the state is concentrating on obtaining federal reclamation and irrigation help.

To see Montana, mostly a high near-desert, is to sympathize with its irrigation needs and to hope on its side. Twenty-one states in the Middle and Mountain regions are arid or semi-arid. What the food production of the country could be if they were made into watered rich land is beyond easy guessing. The farm population of these states sees it as more than augmented food production. To them irrigation is necessarily survival. This has brought them into sharp conflict with the army and the states on the lower Missouri River, which is fed by the rivers of Montana, Wyoming and the other northern Mountain states. The army and the lower Missouri River states are at one in wanting to create a nine-foot channel suitable for navigation on that river. To do that, Montana leaders say, would deprive this area of irrigation water and doom it everlastingly to dry and barren fields.

The fight is intense, and the Montana population is fighting with a vigor surprising in the face of its pessimism on other fronts. The vision of prosperous farm lands created by irrigation has aroused anew a desire for a Missouri River Valley Authority comparable to the TVA, which would create a new world throughout the whole area. This awakening to the liberating power of controlled water even extends into the northwest section of the state, where groups are meeting to in-

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duce the Bonneville administration to develop Hungry Horse Dam for its power.

Throughout Montana the terrific repressions of the one-company ownership have developed some individuals who are attempting difficult solutions with courage. On the political front Leif Erikson is such a leader, and everyone is familiar with Senator James Murray's frontal attacks on "The Company," as well as with his general New Deal philosophy. In the business world you find men like J. E. O'Connell, who started as a waiter in one of the eating places on Last Chance Gulch, the famous main street in Helena, and has developed a chain of small bakeries. In metropolitan terms, or in almost any other state, these bakeries would not even attract attention. Here they are a large business. O'Connell has placed three cryptic letters on the cornerstone of the building which houses his bakery: SFN—to remind himself that he "started from nothing." To say that he pulled himself up by his own bootstraps is an inadequate description of O'Connell, who has ingeniously combined a small holding company, a coöperative and a voluntary chain all into one, so that he could lick the problems of finance, distribution and manufacturing imposed by "The Company" on the whole economy. In the Murrays, Eriksons and O'Connells one senses the promise of a better state.

But emergence into the light of well-being is a long way off—as yet the characteristic sound of mining towns like Anaconda and Butte is the clink of money going into slot machines. The thing you look for on all other American Main Streets, the corner drug store, is only found here after a long search. Its place is taken by saloons and gambling joints; in fact nearly every other type of business makes way for the drinking and gambling emporiums. So much so that in Butte's main street a great neon sign proclaims the existence of the Board of Trade. Here neither copper, wheat nor wool is the commodity traded. Instead blackjack, craps, poker, roulette and lottery are the busy centers for investment and speculation.

The spectacle is interesting, but after a while a stranger begins to raise questions within himself. These are not mining camps with lots of money, easily made, in the hands of irresponsible prospectors. The towns are old, built of brick and mortar, and the miners grew up here and will live here until they die—working terribly hard and making less money than does the average worker in a large plant. The gambling and the drinking keep the miner broke. Just why is it to anybody's interest, other than that of the gambling-house proprietor, to perpetuate a merry-go-round of squalor and poverty?

The labor unions say that "The Company" wants the men kept poor; they are more tractable that way. Leading citizens shrug their shoulders and say a mining camp always has gambling, drinking, prostitution. An easy answer, but solving nothing and changing nothing.

So Montana, big, beautiful and poor, will be no postwar Cinderella emerging from the heavy work of the kitchen to participate in a national prosperity ball. They cannot make the things they need; they cannot buy the things others make. It will be a place from which young men with ambition will come—for there is little to fire their ambition here—and to which tourists will go. They will find it delightful, for the Rockies are at their best in Montana, and for a brief moment the gambling joints are thrilling. But there will be little else—not so long as it is "The Company's" lock, stock and barrel domain.

Detroit, Mich. – Never a sedate, settled city, Detroit is today bubbling with tensions and stresses which rarely come to the surface in more stable places. Four hundred thousand people have come here to work since Pearl Harbor. A large proportion of the white workers, as well as the Negroes, came from the South. On their heels came the camp-followers who had preyed on their illiteracy and ignorance in the hills of Dixie. Today Detroit is the center for the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Legion, the Coughlinites and the Gerald L. K. Smith America Firsters.

All these are part of the witches' brew which spills out in race riots, in strikes and in hell-raising generally. The headlines of the nation tell of a rash of strikes here, but they do not tell the whole story. Local chapters of the big auto union have been captured by anti-labor and isolationist bigots. They call a strike at the slightest provocation—or with no provocation. The national officers of the union move in to stop the strike. In the past their control has been strong enough to get the men back to work. Today they must oust the local officers and put in administrators in order to resume production. Few here blame the big union, for most responsible citizens realize that the situation is not of its making.

The present plight has its origin many years back, when Detroit plants first began to import foreign-born and Southerners in wholesale quantities. The city and the corporations both failed in their responsibilities to provide avenues for education and assimilation. Detroit has for too long been barren of cultural opportunities and the kind of civic projects that might have long since broken down the clannish barriers which now separate the Pole, the largest minority, from the Southerner and the Negro. The older residents have traditionally looked down their noses at the newcomers. The wind was sown in those days, and the whirlwind, a hardy perennial, is reaped again and again.

The crop is fantastic. Here is the American fascist headquarters and very naturally, a center for rabid anti-Semitism. The Negro is the active scapegoat, and on him is heaped the venom of the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion adherents. The Negroes, confused by

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discrimination and abuses much cruder than those in the South, are bitter and divided. Many take refuge in extreme nationalism and in cults. The terrain of Detroit has become fertile for discord, and anti-labor forces have been quick to seize their advantages.

This then is the crucible of Detroit, a pot where the melting has not taken place. A comparative handful of civic leaders see what needs to be done but their work is hamstrung by the inertia of a political machine. Detroit politics is perhaps better than it used to be, since a great number of both the Republicans and Democrats of preceding administrations are on the inside of jails, convicted for graft in wholesale and retail quantities. Yet the present administration does not move to provide even such elementary needs as housing and recreation. Every problem which caused the riots of June, 1943, is here to this day. Expect little socially from this chaotic, anarchic Detroit pattern.

Whether the automobile built after the war is the old 1942 model or the dream car pictured by advertising agencies, Detroit will still be the automobile center of the world. It does not have to be the national capital for seething social turmoil. In recent decades this city has been dubbed "Detroit the Dynamic," a label in which Detroiters take great pride. In earlier years the boosters and signs boasted, "Detroit—The City Where Life is Worth Living." Detroit's civic and business leaders badly need to go back to that slogan, shouldering obvious responsibilities and building a community of citizens who know about their next-door neighbors and who participate in making the great promise of this community come true.

A. G. MEZERIK

This is the final article in the series, "Journey in America." – THE EDITORS

Social Security in Britain

I. *Insurance for All and Everything*

A GREAT ADVANCE on the social-services front is now fairly well assured in Britain. Although Britons can see some important differences between Lord Woolton's official White Paper on Social Insurance and the original Beveridge Plan, I do not think they would strike American observers as amounting to much. The Plan as a whole is officially endorsed. Some of the government's changes of detail are less generous, others are improvements on the great Report which was published to the world on December 2, 1942. But note the lapse of time. Our ministers and their experts in Whitehall have taken nearly 22 months to dot a few "i's" and cross a few "t's," and, in view of the tremendous program of contentious legislation and reconstruction ahead, it will now be impossible for the British public to derive any wide social benefit from the schemes till at least 1947. Conceivably a few preliminary instalments, like children's allowances, might be started in 1946, but Sir William Jowitt, the new Minister of Social Insurance, is not a man who likes to be hurried. Anyhow, he is unlikely to be the Minister very long, because we shall be going back to party politics in 1945 and then anything may happen.

For many years Britain has had three separate schemes of national social insurance: (1) for sickness (cash and medical benefits); (2) for unemployment benefits within strict limits; and (3) small old-age pensions at 65 (men) and 60 (women). Pensions for widows at any age were included. All these were tripartite contributory insurances shared among the employed person, his employer and the government; only workers earning less than £420 ($1,680) a year were covered. In the prewar years, between 8 and 10 million persons drew one or more of these benefits in a year, and today we have 4.8 million old-age pensioners, including wives who draw pensions on their husbands' contributions. None but wage-earners were insured and we had, at the base of the ivory tower of social insurance, various public-assistance services which gave non-contributory cash relief to anyone on proof of need. In essence this was the hundred-year-old Poor Law, but its administration and the test of needs have been considerably alleviated in recent years. Many of our claimants to insurance benefits, especially the pensioners, have had to supplement their income by applying for relief also under the means test.

Now for the new advance—the Beveridge Plan. The government goes all the way with Sir William Beveridge in his three main principles. The temple of our social security is to rest in future upon three pillars, which are: (a) contributory social insurance; (b) social endowment (children's allowances and free medical service); and (c) national assistance.

The first is to furnish somewhat better benefits for longer periods to insured contributors and their wives during periods of certified sickness or unemployment and during old age or widowhood, together with special grants for maternity and a final death benefit—£20 ($80) life insurance. The compulsory weekly contribution is to be about doubled and the rate of benefit is to be 40 shillings ($8) for a married couple when the bread-

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winner is sick or unemployed. The pension is to be 35 shillings ($7) for a couple when the man is 65 and his non-earning wife is 60. Wage-earning wives can be insured separately on their own account if they wish. This is to please the feminists. Everyone of working age (16 to 65 for men), whether rich or poor, from His Majesty the King downwards, is to be insurable, but, in practice, I expect there will be about a million exemptions. Employers and non-earners are all to be covered, though they will be unable to satisfy the tests for unemployment pay, and the self-employed can only draw sick pay after four weeks (Beveridge made it 13 weeks) of certified incapacity. These two latter classes are going to be an awkward proposition, because they have no employers and are difficult to check.

Under Beveridge there is no limit to the duration of benefits, but under the government plan, rights to sick and unemployment pay are terminable after a fairly generous fixed period and the money may be reduced where a person's contributions are not fully paid up. A good many people on the margin of the labor market will find the contribution conditions and the time limits a bit too stiff for them and some will never qualify for benefits at all.

It is such people, together with some of the exempt class, who will need relief outside insurance. They can apply for national assistance. At this lower level no one can draw relief money as a legal right; he will have to prove under the means test that he is genuinely in need of help. Genuine cases will not be unsympathetically handled—that is fairly certain. In fact, some long unemployed men with families may find that they lose nothing at all in cash, when after 30 weeks they pass from the higher status of benefit to the means-tested assistance scheme below. We ought to be able to protect the new "dole" against abuse, if we are short of labor or at any rate able to maintain something like full employment.

The pillar of social endowment means children's allowances and free medical services from birth to death for all citizens. The first consists of the free grant by the state of small weekly cash allowances—5 shillings ($1) per child—to every family with more than one child under 15. There is nothing for the first child ordinarily, only during the unemployment or sickness of the wage-earning parent. Here the question comes up as to whether the mother or the father draws the money. The feminist group have strong views that the mother should draw the cash and draw it in the middle of each week to prevent her husband from treating it simply as a bonus. From this angle the whole experiment will be interesting to watch.

Beveridge would have made the cash allowance eight shillings ($1.60) a week for the second and subsequent children, but the government says it would rather give five shillings and make up the rest in free milk and school meals, so that it will have more assurance that the nutrition is really reaching the children's stomachs. Critics say this part of the government's promise will not be implemented for years because most of our schools have not yet got the facilities for feeding children. And what about the pre-school child?

I have already been allowed to describe our proposed new national health service in these columns (The New Republic, May 15, 1944). The grant of the right to free medical and hospital treatment to all is going to be a tremendous affair, if and when it comes off. A point to notice, and one that is not yet appreciated even in England, is that Beveridge and the government have deliberately removed children's allowances and the health service from the sphere of contributory insurance. Both will be free for all citizens, whether insured contributors or not. They are forms of social endowment like free education.

In my opinion the government scheme as a whole is a good one and a notable advance on any other social-security system in the world. We shall indeed be lucky if we see it all in actual operation by 1947 or 1948. But we still have a long way to go and there are several lions in the path. The government White Paper has undoubtedly satisfied the British public; they think the plan is even more generous than it really is. They do not realize that the higher contributions are going to prove a considerable burden in peacetime when earnings are lower than now; they will also discover that the insurance conditions are fairly stiff. But there are powerful Conservative sections who think (quite wrongly) that the whole thing is a socialistic debauch and will oppose it; there will also be a tough fight with the insurance companies, which are going to lose a profitable part of their business. The political right wing has yet to be reckoned with, and when it deploys all its forces, it may emasculate the social-security legislation. Meanwhile the left wing, including Sir William Beveridge, is sharpening its sword to fight the Coalition Government on all the detailed points on which the White Paper is more cautious than the original Beveridge Plan. It will demand larger and longer benefits. Whether it is wise in these tactics is open to doubt. It might be better advised to consolidate public opinion behind the White Paper in order to resist the inevitable attacks from the unconverted right wing. What we have to realize is that, soon after the war with Germany is concluded, we shall be plunged into a General Election, the first in nine years. That will be no time for a division in the progressive ranks of British politics.

London RONALD DAVISON

This is the first of two articles on the new plans for social security in Great Britain. The second, taking a sharply different point of view, is by Aneurin Bevan, and will appear in an early issue.—THE EDITORS

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The Conscientious Objector

After four years of conscription under a law granting exemption from military service to men opposed on grounds of religious training and belief, 2,700 conscientious objectors are held in federal prisons, with more having gone to jail in the six-month period from November, 1943, to April, 1944, than to the work camps especially provided for them. More than eight times as many objectors as in World War I—4,300 so far—have gone to prison in this war despite the fact that, while all objectors last time came under military authority, in this war no objectors get near the army except those who elect noncombatant service in the Medical Corps, those inducted in error and the few who become objectors after induction.

With a considerably more liberal system and with officials evidently anxious to avoid the issues that aroused such extensive criticism in World War I, it is distressing that the problems confronting objectors today have been so poorly resolved that prison becomes their only answer—the very thing that the provisions for alternative service in the draft act were designed to prevent. The mounting dissatisfaction of objectors and their supporters culminated last spring in representations for reforms, made directly to the President by a delegation from the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The delegation—composed of Ernest Angell, attorney and chairman of the NCCO, Dr. Rufus Jones of the Society of Friends (Quakers) and Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence of the Episcopal Church—recommended four major remedies to ameliorate the inequities of the existing system: (1) that supervision of the alternative-service program (Civilian Public Service) be transferred from Selective Service to a civilian agency, such as the Department of the Interior; (2) that a civilian board replace the present Selective Service board, composed of army officers, to hear final classification appeals of objectors; (3) that the Department of Justice have sole jurisdiction over paroles; and (4) that a civilian commission be appointed to investigate the cases of objectors mistakenly in the army.

Selective Service administration of the Civilian Public Service may well be illegal in view of the "civilian direction" specified in the law. Harold Ickes' apparent willingness to undertake direction of the program was not a significant factor in the face of Selective Service opposition, on the basis of which the President rejected the proposals. Pacifist interests that had formerly credited the Chief Executive with good faith, at least, were disillusioned, not so much by his action as by his method of handling the problem—going directly to Selective Service for its opinion. What other reaction could have been anticipated from Selective Service, whose administrative efficiency was under fire? The practical effect of the President's decision was to leave the inequities of the present system intact.

The question of military control, raised in several cases now pending in the courts, lies at the center of the difficulty. Much of this could have been avoided at the start if the President had had the foresight to delegate the powers of CPS administration to a civilian agency. As it is, Major General Lewis B. Hershey and the Camp Operations Division of Selective Service control the camps, while the historic peace churches which pay for the program that, incidentally, has cost them more than $4,000,000 to date, serve merely as puppets of the administration. Under the scheme proposed by the American Civil Liberties Union's NCCO, the church groups would undoubtedly have remained puppets of the civilian agency, but the primary source of conflict would have been eliminated with the removal of actual military control.

But even the action recommended by the delegation would not have embodied an over-all solution to the wartime problems of conscientious objectors whose grievances, in addition to military control, extend principally to discrimination in the matter of paroles and in the denial of significant work and equitable pay and dependency allotments comparable to allowances for soldiers drafted under the same system.

The President is reported to have been "amazed" that the 7,000 objectors in 80-odd CPS camps receive no pay. Yet it is hard to believe that he is ignorant of the fact that, although laws were passed providing that funds appropriated for Selective Service could be used to maintain objectors doing civilian work and pay them not more than army base pay, no objector has ever been paid and only recently has the government undertaken to maintain any of them in two "government-operated" camps. Actually, objectors are expected to pay $35 a month for their support, though the churches assume the responsibility where assignees are unable to pay. Out of this, they receive an allowance of $2.50 a month for spending money, including all personal necessities.

Expediency has dominated the government's policy of isolating objectors in remote outposts where they are engaged principally in reforestation and soil-conservation work, and of frustrating, with few exceptions, their efforts to obtain more useful service in social work or relief and rehabilitation here and abroad. Recently, at the behest of the American Legion, a project

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to train objectors at various colleges for postwar relief was squelched in Congress when a rider was attached to an army appropriations bill forbidding pay to any officer connected with the work. A China relief unit already en route to the Far East was recalled. In the wake of such incidents, scores of men have left the camps, preferring jail to the conditions of alternative service under the limitations insisted on by Hershey, who turns a deaf ear to all proposals, such as those of the NCCO, for policy changes obviously needed.

Failing the transfer of administrative responsibility to a civilian agency, broader opportunities for useful service, pay and dependency allotments are clearly indicated, first, in justice to the assignees, and second, to prevent mass walk-outs from the camps that even now threaten the existence of the entire program. If Selective Service fails to recognize this danger in time, the effect of its intransigence may be the collapse of the CPS system and the entrance of 7,000 more objectors into the federal prisons, where they are public charges. At this juncture some pacifist leaders, who have opposed the CPS system from the beginning as an unjustified compromise with the conscription principle, would welcome such a catastrophe, since it would "force the government and the objectors to face their moral responsibilities."

Meanwhile, aside from basic changes in the administration of the law, an equitable adjustment of parole practices would go far toward reducing the legitimate complaints of objectors. While a presidential executive order long ago permitted the prompt parole of imprisoned objectors to noncombatant service in the army, to CPS camps or to public-service work, chiefly in hospitals, Selective Service effectively sterilized the second section of the order by blocking parole to the CPS of men who had been classified as conscientious objectors and had refused camp assignments—since almost no objectors in prison change their minds, and in fact their resistance to conscription or to the prison system itself may stiffen. Paroles of the third type have been granted to too few men to be regarded as a serious effort by the government to get men out of prison and into useful work. And the first type, of course, is impossible for most imprisoned objectors.

The multiple opportunities to utilize this wasted manpower in agriculture and social-service work—fields that have suffered worst of all from labor shortages—have been ignored by the government, whose policy in the treatment of conscientious objectors has been a patchwork of doubtful expedients designed to isolate them, for the most part, in what have been described as "glorified leaf-raking" projects. It is a policy under which a third of all objectors eligible for service they genuinely desire are forced into prison. While it continues, America can hardly be said to have developed a mature respect for freedom of conscience.

WALTER RAE

This Too Is Hard

WE WENT ON A TOUR once. It was a fine tour with transportation, guides, food, everything arranged by Special Services, to a famous spot in Italy. For chow we went into a fenced-in area where sandwiches, coffee and fruit were dished out to us. It was swell, wasn't it? But do you know why it was fenced in?

There were about a hundred dirty, disheveled, smeary kids and women howling on the other side, with faces and arms stretched through the boards like monkeys. In the zoo we say those animals are smart. But we don't here.

You turn away. You can't eat your sandwich surrounded by all those glued eyes, begging hands and open mouths. But you know you've got to eat too. And even if you give one of the kids something, the others set up such howling and pleading that you feel worse than before. So you eat your sandwich trying to hide it from those awful eyes and those old faces on small bodies. You turn your back to those window-eyes or find a secluded corner.

If you think that's easy, try it some time.

Try eating your meal out of a mess kit while on the other side of the barbed wire stands a barefoot, sloppy, dirty mother with her bawling, nose-running infant in her arms, watching each spoonful travel from plate to mouth, from plate to mouth, from plate to mouth, from plate to mouth.

Sure we drive them away. We have to protect ourselves. We'd rather not see it. A lot of people are like that. If they don't see it, they don't know about it. And if they don't know about it, it's not their fault, is it?

Try coming from the PX and hiding your rations because you know if the kids see you coming out with supplies you will have a mob of creamy-eyed, barefoot children with watery mouths trailing you and hanging on your arms. You are the one who feels guilty. You hide your rations in your pockets or under your coat and the kids don't bother you.

How would you like to stifle your conscience that way some time?

Try answering the intelligent young Italian who said to me, "I don't understand." He was very hesitant and broken-English-speaking. "But we thought that when the Americans came . . . ," and his voice trailed off into a most eloquent silence of despair. "You see, I make here 90 lire a day. How is it possible? I have a wife and baby. One kilo potatoes is 40, 45 lire. One kilo meat is 200 lire. Of course," with a hopeless gesture, "that is black market."

What use for me to tell him not to go to the black market? I know and he knows that often it is the only place where he will find food. You can't talk law to an empty stomach.

But I'm in the army, I tell myself. Mine is a purely

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military concern. I am no social, philanthropic or relief agency. Someone else is supposed to worry about that. Anyhow, damn it, we didn't want this war. They started it. Why didn't they think of this before?

It's no use. On paper I can make plus balance minus, income equal outgo, sowing bring reaping. But I can't talk bookkeeping to old children, milkless babies, barefoot youths, hungry stomachs, a pleading people. I can't be academic with humanity, or scientific with emotions.

Let the Nazis do that.

Somewhere in Italy S/SGT. IRVING FEIRSTEIN

British Labor in Conference

IT WAS a foregone conclusion that the British Labor Party would decide at its postponed annual conference to leave Churchill's Coalition at the end of the German war, and to fight Britain's first election in 10 years as an independent party. Uncertain was whether Labor would go into that decisive election with a policy and a leadership capable of appealing to voters whose lives, institutions and political opinions have been tumbled by six years of war. A December Gallup Poll showed that of 58 percent of people who have decided how to vote, 27 percent backed Labor and 17 percent backed the Conservatives; but it bannered the great query: Which way will the undecided 42 percent go? The conference, even though Labor Ministers would sit at Downing Street until the Nazis fell, was the overture to the election campaign.

The tragedy of Greece overshadowed all the debates in Westminster's Central Hall. The ordinary fellow here in Britain, may not follow the events which led up to the fighting in Athens, and may not understand why the Greek citizens who garlanded Tommies with flowers one day should be sniping at them the next, but he feels a deep sense of shame that British soldiers should be fighting Greek allies whose bravery in the face of Italian and German aggression is still fresh. He feels that the British government must be in some way at fault. And the millions who have learned to think politically are in no doubt that Churchill, in emulating his 1919 support for intervention against Russia, betrayed the cause for which the war was being fought. Responding to this mood, two of the largest affiliated unions, the Transport and General Workers and the National Union of Railwaymen, heartily condemned official policy in pre-conference resolutions. The Labor Executive was in a dilemma. If the conference condemned the government it would at the same time be condemning the Labor Ministers, who would be forced to resign while some of the hardest battles still remained to be fought; if the Executive opposed the two unions, which would be supported by the great majority of the rank-and-file delegates, it would be defeated in the voting. Special executive sessions were therefore held and a compromise resolution tabled. This called upon the government to negotiate an armistice as soon as possible with a view to establishing a provisional national government representative of all Greek anti-fascist resisters.

The atmosphere was tense on the morning when the resolution was discussed. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor in the Coalition, intervened early in a powerful and honest speech which nevertheless is bound to harm his political career. As a Cabinet Minister, he accepted complete responsibility for British policy, whose only aim, he said, was to facilitate a free democratic Greek election. He staggered many delegates by asserting that the British Empire could not abandon its position in the Mediterranean. Practically all other speakers attacked Bevin, the government, Leeper (the Athens Ambassador) and Churchill. Aneurin Bevan brought the atmosphere to explosion point when he compared Franco's transport of Moorish troops to destroy the Spanish Republic with Churchill's use of Indian soldiers to destroy the Greek Resistance; he ended to a roar of applause. The compromise resolution was finally passed by an overwhelming majority. But it was clear that the delegates saw Churchill's reversion to type as the first challenge in the coming struggle for political power.

On some other issues the delegates rejected compromise and by rejecting Executive motions voiced their desire to see full-blooded policies written into the election program. In opposition to the Executive, a rank-and-filer proposed to commit the party to "the transfer to public ownership of the land, large-scale building, heavy industry, and all forms of banking, transport and fuel and power." This proposal carried the conference. Again, on the last day the conference defied the platform by calling for the release of Nehru and other political leaders, and by urging "the immediate ending of the political deadlock by negotiations with all leaders of the Indian people, with a view to the formation of a responsible national government which will rally the entire population of India to the anti-fascist cause."

The conference made Labor stronger to face the wiles of Conservative electioneering. It put more force into the party program, and it went some way toward creating a stronger leadership. Aneurin Bevan, biting critic of Churchill and the Labor leaders, was elected for the first time. Then Sir Stafford Cripps is expected to rejoin the party in a few weeks, and will certainly exert some influence on policy while booking himself a seat in the Cabinet of the next Labor government. Whether this government will be formed in the Britain of 1945 awaits the decision of the 42 percent whose minds will be made up in the political campaign which is just opening.

London MICHAEL YOUNG

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Washington Notes

The President's Dilemma

SUPPOSE YOU WERE President Roosevelt this week. A new Congress is meeting. In the Senate there are 57 Democrats, 38 Republicans; in the House, 243 to 190. You have three main goals: (1) to win the war (in which Congress will coöperate); (2) to win the peace (which requires a two-thirds treaty vote from a skittish Senate); (3) to win postwar prosperity (which requires bold, positive, novel measures which Congress almost certainly will oppose). In addition you would like a lot of additional social legislation—if you can get it.

What would you do? To achieve the first goal the present course seems generally correct. It requires the continuance of the Grand Alliance, of which one member, Uncle Joe, is suspicious and another, Winnie, is a Tory. But this task is relatively simple. All it really takes is enough lives. (You, as President, have four sons in the service yourself.) It is Goal 2 that's the problem. Congressional coöperation here is essential. True, the electorate has just knocked out half a dozen extreme isolationists. But there are half a dozen left, with another dozen on the fringe. Senators are funny, too. If you rile one on a domestic issue, he may vote against you, and man, and God, on a peace treaty. (Wilson discovered that.) You can't be sure Uncle Joe and Winnie will make things easier. Your own party can't do it alone. Moral: You *must not* offend Congress.

Now, Congress is conservative. Make no doubt about that. America is the most conservative big nation on earth and its election system automatically makes Congress more conservative than the public. You, as President, know that a GOP-Southern Democratic coalition has a latent veto at almost any point. Also your limited store of influence will diminish after two years, and when once used can hardly be replenished. You would like an expanded social-security system; the poorer states cry aloud for federal aid to health and education; a dozen major needs are obvious: the St. Lawrence waterway, the new Valley Authorities—but besides these there are all the postwar-adjustment problems. You have promised 60 million jobs. So what do you do?

There is only one course open. Try to decide what is important and put first things first. Winning the war and joining a system of collective security seem the big things. History will agree. You must work with Congress to achieve these ends. You realize also you aren't so young as you were. Things get under your skin more than they did—and yet to become irritated is to lose everything. . . .

Well, maybe that is what Mr. Roosevelt was thinking this week as Congress reassembled and he prepared his annual address, and his budget message. But there is something else to add. The President has one inexhaustible reservoir of strength in the common man. If he can explain things, put the public into partnership; if he can take time out from the war to take everyday folks into his confidence, to inform, persuade and insist, he still has the strongest weapon available. He has been neglecting this job.

I listened to Dr. George Gallup testify last week about his 1944 presidential polls. He is a large, tweedy, plausible, self-confident man. The Anderson Committee of the House was bumbling, and failed to press obvious queries. But these facts emerged: Gallup public-opinion questions are sometimes put to as few as 3,000 people (By comparison, there are 3,071 counties in the United States.) Though newspaper readers think they are getting direct results, these "raw samples" are "scientifically" processed, digested and adjusted, bringing in elements that sometimes seem like arbitrary judgments. In 1944 the "raw" samples showed FDR with a civilian ratio of 53 to 47, from the start. (This was close to the actual result, which was about 53.6 for Roosevelt, soldiers included.) But Dr. Gallup deliberately put a two-point debit against Roosevelt, and in his press releases turned his poll into a 51-to-49 percent horse-race. He now attributes this debit to the mistaken assumption that there would be a light poll—a Democratic disadvantage. When it became obvious the poll would be about normal, this particular debit was removed; but another debit, of just the same amount, was substituted. Dr. Gallup said the second one was made because of "an unmistakable Dewey trend" then evidenced. But later he told a committee member in another connection that no major trends had appeared in the 1944 election. Dr. Gallup followed much the same procedure in New York, where he adjusted raw samples favoring Roosevelt to put the state in the Dewey column, although careful newspaper correspondents gave it to Roosevelt. Here again, the "raw" returns were more accurate than the adjusted figures. The House committee was unable to understand the reasoning here, and Dr. Gallup uncomfortably said the anti-Roosevelt New York weighting was done in part because he "lacked confidence" in his representative. (Why, I wondered, would he have a man in key New York in whom he lacked confidence?)

No one at the hearing impugned Dr. Gallup's good faith. But the result of scientifically translating a fairly obvious Roosevelt pushover into a Dewey horse-race was interesting: It cut into the so-called "bandwagon" vote, if there is such a thing; it persuaded a lot of fat Republicans to make contributions which they probably wouldn't have otherwise made, and left the GOP with a surplus. And it pleased Dr. Gallup's newspaper clients in two ways: by making it out a nip-and-tuck battle that helped sell papers, and by reducing the odds against Dewey, the big editorial favorite. One could not fail to note how charmingly scientific statistics coincided with apparent self-interest.

Incidental Notes: Inflationary warnings fly as the year ends: a booming stock market, mounting income and declining consumer goods, the whole vastly accentuated by the prospect of a longer war. . . . Already two big "panic" inflationary stampedes for goods, cigarettes and—in the East—gasoline. . . . Pressure against controls is increasing: Chester Bowles gives an instance of a publicity firm that organized a drive on Congress for higher ceiling prices on stoves: the firm promised clients statements by reputable economists with university connections in leading financial organs—and these actually appeared. . . . Navy vessels can now transport beer, though it still can't be drunk, under Josephus Daniels' order; one skipper, whose ship hadn't

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seen civilization for a year in the Pacific, finally roped off the fo'c'sle and gave two cans of beer and "shore leave" to sailors—beyond the ropes; the experiment was a great success. . . . Uncle Sam's new dispute with Sewell Avery should bring a pleasant dividend to newspapers in advertising, paid for by the public (via the income-tax-deduction route). Ward's stock has not advanced so fast as that of its rival, Sears Roebuck, in the past year. . . . GOP congressmen who met with Dewey in New York recently shied away from a proposed legislative program; the party included Taft, Vandenberg, White, Martin and Halleck; Dewey proposed a GOP policy outline based on his campaign speeches, but they found it too "New Deal-ish," didn't want to share power with an outsider, anyway. . . . Conservatives are the real revolutionaries; no mere radical would have proposed anything so disruptive as reactionary Senator George's latest suggestion for a "10-percent tax cut, when Germany is defeated," with an inflationary boom already here and a worse one likely after V-E Day. . . . Lord Halifax tells this amiable joke on himself: When he concluded a recent speech, his gratified chairman told the Midwest audience that previously he had feared Uncle Sam would "once more" be outsmarted by British diplomacy, but after hearing the Ambassador's address, they could all feel happy and relieved.

Washington T. R. B.

Day of Reckoning

"TOMORROW—the World!" (filmed from the hit play by James Dow and Arnaud d'Asseau) deals with the question of whether the Nazis can be reformed, and does so at a time when its belief that the Nazis can be changed for the better and that the best way is with a minimum of force, will irritate a lot of people and possibly influence some of them. It is most unusual for Hollywood to touch a problem as hot as the one handled by this Jerome Cowan film, let alone hedge as little as it does in its judgment. Therefore I would advise you to see the movie because of its courage, decision and the fact that it has been made with a good deal of concern, seriousness and intelligence. Beyond these assets, my liking of the film is confined to a restrained appreciation of the playing of Betty Field and Fredric March, the conception of their roles, a deadly shot of a tardy boy entering a classroom, one of a boy running away from school, and a moment in a kids' fight (generally silly, for one reason because the kids hit with the style of Max Baer and the accurate fury of movie cowboys), in which the camera image of the fight blurs sickeningly the way the fight does to the fighters.

The film presents its "test case" for the treatment of Nazis by showing the experience of a college professor (Fredric March) and his friends when he takes over the training of a twelve-year-old nephew (Skippy Homeier), who has been previously educated in Germany to be a thoroughgoing Nazi. The boy behaves abominably until he finally drives the Americans, who are very progressive-school-minded and believe in sparing the rod, into punishing him. After his fright, pain and hysteria, he wavers for the first time in his addiction to Nazi doctrine. He also shows his first concern for the attentions of those around him; faced with being sent to a reformatory he realizes how nice his room at the professor's house is; the professor's sweetheart (Betty Field) believes that his crying is the first human feeling she has noticed in him. On the strength of all these last-minute indications of change, the professor sends the police, who are waiting to take the boy to a reformatory, symbolically away, and the picture ends with the family happily believing that the boy will not try any more bashing in of skulls, sabotage, teaching Nazi doctrine to his schoolmates, maligning Jews, breaking up his uncle's love affair or trying to divide and conquer everybody in sight. For many reasons this conversion seems highly suspect, but no less so than the rest of the film, whose materials always seem more artificial and namby-pamby than its notions or the intentions of the people who worked on it.

Played with any approximation of what it would be really like if some nice, anemic, emotion-fearing intellectuals bent on doing the right thing took over the training of an adolescent already formed into the terrifying cynicism of the Nazis, the movie's situation could be as devastating a picture of people blunting themselves against one another as can be imagined. If there were any understanding of the squeamish, difficult sorenesses that would arise, you would get a good idea of the enormously perplexing task of re-educating Nazis—dealing, as we would be, with our own incapabilities as well as the Nazis' corruption—and some idea of all the unforeseen traps into which we, not being perfect either, could fall. The evil in the character of this movie's junior Nazi is always produced by stock Nazi attitudes or stock melodramatic ones, each being overweighted and overexplained. There are about a dozen more atrocities and treacheries than are necessary to convince you that he is a Nazi; and he seems too smart to be doing many of them. The villainy is enormous and the situation is one that should be as appalling, difficult and ungainly as they come. But the people's reactions to one another's Americanism, democracy, and to Nazism, are too often only a bemused reaction to quaintness, and they haven't the slightest difficulty in communication or understanding—which would be, it seems to me, in reality the first numbing difficulty. On top of all this, Skippy Homeier's performance as the child is—despite one good cry and a moment of convincing adolescent day-dreaming over a lawn-mower—so incredibly insensitive to all of the overcluttered business it contains that you will probably take it as a joke.

The portraits of the college professor and his sweetheart as good, progressive people is the least artificial thing in the film and by far the most interesting. Their constant fear of giving way to any temper or unseemly feeling, their obsession with doing the intelligent thing (which, along with the suppression of emotion, wears them down physically and mentally), their talk, which is so Little Womenish and so limp in its attempts at being witty, colloquial and regular, all seemed accurate qualities of such people and made them just about as silly and watered-down as they usually are. Probably the second most interesting fact is that the heroine is announced to be Jewish. Hollywood does not make a practice of characterizing movie heroines as Jewish, nor does it like to remove all comicalities from the character, nor does it like to marry her to a Gentile. I wish, though, it hadn't been so shy of raising any problems with its Jewish girl. Something else interesting is the unsuccessful

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attempt of Director Leslie Fenton (who is a good actor and might be a good director, given a good script) to turn a play into a movie. The attempt entails very intimate approaches to indoor action, and excessive leaps into the country whenever possible. MANNY FARBER

Science and Technology

New Perspectives in Psychotherapy[1]

IN HIS autobiographical remarks Freud impressively reports that when he finally decided to give up a career devoted to laboratory research and earn his living by giving real help to the large group of psychoneurotics who desperately needed his aid, he vainly looked for effective methods of treatment. This was in the eighties of the last century. In those days Vienna was the outstanding center of clinical medicine. The Viennese school was foremost in introducing into medicine the scientific methods of physics and chemistry and in applying the principles of cellular pathology developed by Virchow, who attempted to explain every disease by local tissue changes discoverable through the microscope in autopsy.

Medicine was still a newcomer among the natural sciences and it is no wonder that it assumed the typical attitude of the newcomer. Until quite recent times it had been based on mystical concepts and it was now attempting to erase all traces of its unscientific past. It tried to appear even more exacting than physics and chemistry. The scientifically trained medical man liked to appear as an engineer of the body; the human personality found no place in his outlook. He was suspicious of everything that even remotely reminded him of the pre-scientific origins of medicine, and the human personality, with all its intangible psychological facts, was certainly such a reminder. Thus medicine had to pay a high price for the great advancements which it derived from laboratory research. It learned about the functions of the various organs and forgot about the patient as a human being.

Thus it came about that at a time when the treatment of organic diseases was being based more and more on the scientific knowledge of anatomy and physiology, the psychoneurotic was still the stepchild of medicine and was treated by a variety of fully unscientific methods, all based on suggestion or on the autosuggestion of the physician, who, by using electric machines and galvanic currents, soothed himself with the belief that he was giving scientifically founded help to his patients. Unquestionably his machines were based on the scientific laws of physics and chemistry, but the application to the patient was no better substantiated than the magic procedures of the medicine man.

Within the brief span of twenty-five years, Freud and a small group of his followers supplied psychiatry with a dynamic theory of the human personality which was based on sound observation, and developed a rational psychotherapy for the treatment of disturbed personalities. No wonder that the practitioners of this method developed a justified pride and satisfaction; they created, from the nothing they found in this field, something that was effective and reasonable. It is only natural that they jealously protected this new but still crude instrument. Their defensiveness was greatly increased by the continuous rejection, destructive criticism and skepticism of their confreres.

For a while it appeared as if this originally justified protective attitude of the psychoanalysts toward their initial achievements might lead to a certain rigidity. Adherence to a highly standardized technique which was applied to the great variety of patients in exactly the same way became the accepted procedure. The psychoanalyst who was known to interview some of his patients only two or three times a week instead of daily, or who had the reputation of giving conspicuously brief treatments, was not considered a real practitioner. Since all trained psychoanalysts used the standard technique in all their cases, the forty years of therapeutic work in the field of psychoanalysis was in a sense a large-scale experiment without controls. On the basis of experience, it was impossible to answer the question whether certain types of patients could not be more effectively treated by other techniques—for example, by less frequent interviews or by using repeated interruptions ("fractional analysis"). Since every patient was treated in the same way, there was no comparison possible; no systematic efforts had been made to apply different types of procedure to the same type of patient. The lack of such controlled experiments can only be explained by a deep-seated aversion to therapeutic innovations. It appeared that we should not be able to escape the inexorable dialectical principle of history: namely, that we, the former progressives, were to become the new conservatives; the followers of the unprejudiced experimenter, Freud, were in danger of becoming the dogmatic defenders of traditional thought and procedure.

In recent years, however, a freer experimental spirit has been stirring among psychoanalysts. Many experienced therapists have been puzzled by the capricious nature of therapeutic results, by the baffling discrepancy between therapeutic success and the intensity and length of treatment. The answer was obviously to come from a more precise understanding of the different therapeutic factors. In the Psychoanalytic Clinic of Boston, in the Presbyterian Hospital in New York, in the Menninger Sanitarium at Topeka, Kansas, and the Chicago Institute of Psychoanalysis, continuous experimentation with different therapeutic applications of the basic conception of psychoanalysis has been going on.

The first therapeutic fact which Freud, in collaboration with Breuer, came across was the relief which the patient derives from the *discharge of repressed emotions*. The method which Freud and Breuer used was "cathartic hypnosis." In hypnosis the patient was able to remember painful previous experiences and give expression to emotions that he could not face at the time they occurred. To make the patient remember forgotten painful episodes was introduced at that time as the primary aim of therapy. However, it was soon recognized that such remembering, connected with the discharge of emotions, gives only temporary relief. Freud argued that in hypnosis the patient is able to express his emotions only because his conscious personality, or more precisely his critical faculties, are temporarily eliminated; consequently, the real therapeutic task

[1] Excerpts from "New Perspectives in Psychotherapy," by Drs. Franz Alexander and Thomas French, with the collaboration of the Staff of the Institute for Psychoanalysis of Chicago, to be published this year by Ronald Press.

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must consist of making the conscious personality capable of facing the painful and intolerable emotions. He had to find a method in which the patient retains the full functions of his conscious mind and yet can be induced to face the psychological content which he repudiates. After a series of steps Freud arrived at the psychoanalytical technique which is in use today, a technique which fulfills this requirement. In this procedure the therapeutic emphasis is on overcoming the patient's resistance against recognizing those emotions and psychological content which he was not able to face in the past and against which he defended himself with a variety of neurotic defense mechanisms—the most important being repression. In the patient's emotional relationship to his physician, Freud recognized the most powerful instrument for overcoming resistance. After this discovery, the search for memories—that is to say, the intellectual reconstruction of the past history—increasingly gave place to consistent utilization for therapeutic purposes of the patient's emotional experiences in relation to the physician.

These emotional reactions of the patient to the therapist Freud called "transference." He called them transference because he recognized that the patient's emotional reactions toward the therapist are a repetition of the same emotions and unresolved conflicts that the patient had toward his parents and now transferred to the therapist. This was nothing less than the revival of the neurotic past in the form of an experimental neurosis of the present. This experimental neurosis Freud called "transference neurosis."

The transference neurosis as a dynamic reënactment of the emotional conflicts of the past now became the basis of modern psychoanalytic therapy. Freud recognized the immense therapeutic possibilities for treatment which this revival of past emotional difficulties offered. In the transference neurosis the original conflicts appeared in much smaller quantities. Moreover, not only were the transference emotions less intense than the original ones, but now the stronger Ego of the adult was exposed to the same type of conflict which had overpowered the weak, infantile Ego in the past. In the transference situation the patient had a splendid opportunity to grapple once more with the same emotional difficulties which he had not hitherto been able to master—with the envy mixed with admiration and gratitude felt toward his father, older brother or other rivals; with the guilt feelings and anxieties which followed his envy and hostility; with the dependent, help-seeking attitude he felt toward his mother together with all his bitterness and resentment when his demands for love were not fulfilled; and with his rebellion against maternal overprotection. In the phenomenon of transference Freud discovered a somewhat similar biological principle to that known in immunology. The organism receiving small quantities of injected toxins or bacteria develops defenses against them (antibodies). These enable the organism to protect itself against the invasion of the same toxins and bacteria when exposed to infection. In the transference, the patient learns to deal with small quantities of the same emotional tensions which he could not master in the past and against which he could defend himself only by repression—that is to say, by excluding the intolerable emotions from consciousness.

It was Ferenczi and Rank, twenty-one years ago, who first remarked that the standard technique, consisting in the handling of the patient's transference and resistance, had not yet been consistently purified of the concepts and attitudes which were developed before the discovery of the transference. In their book, "Developmental Goals of Psychoanalysis," Ferenczi and Rank required a more radical discarding of the etiological reconstruction of the past as the goal of therapy. They required more emphasis upon emotional experience than upon intellectual genetic understanding of the original sources of the patient's symptoms. They required that emotional experience should replace the search for memories and intellectual reconstruction.

At the same time, Ferenczi and Rank proposed another radical departure by setting a date of termination for the treatment. Unfortunately, they did not draw the correct technical conclusions as to termination from their correct evaluation of psychoanalysis as a kind of emotional training. Enforced termination of the treatment has proved a failure. Because of this one faulty technical measure, the valid parts of Ferenczi's and Rank's contribution did not receive adequate recognition.

In the last seven years the staff of the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute has been engaged in systematic clinical experimentation. The aim of this experimentation was to make psychoanalytic technique a more flexible instrument for the treatment of the great variety of emotionally disturbed individuals. This experimentation was particularly prompted by such observations as that some patients suffering from a severe neurotic condition may get well as a result of a few consultations, while other cases, which appear to be comparatively mild, do not respond to systematic treatment over many years. In many respects this experimentation was carried out along lines similar to those which had been followed by Ferenczi and Rank The guiding principle of this study was the recognition of the fact that the goal of psychotherapy is to increase the Ego's efficiency in fulfilling its task—which consists in finding such gratification for a person's subjective needs as is in harmony with the standards and ideals of the person on the one hand and with existing conditions on the other. This type of psychotherapy can be considered as a kind of a training of the Ego that takes place in that experimental, personal interrelationship between the patient and physician which is called transference. Every other aspect of therapy, such as reconstruction of the past by remembering forgotten events, is subordinated to this goal. These studies have shown that the usual psychoanalytic technique, consisting of daily interviews continued through many months or years, is not only not always necessary but often is not even the most suitable method to achieve this aim; the technique must be adjusted to the individual case. If we apply this principle of flexibility consistently, the standard technique becomes only one of a variety of procedures which are all based essentially on the same psychodynamic principles. Certain cases may be treated in comparatively few interviews. Others may be seen once or twice a week through weeks or many months. There is a continuous gradation from brief therapies to prolonged ones, from infrequent interviews to the standard technique —all of which can be included under the term of psychoanalytic psychotherapy.

Particularly in acute and incipient cases, briefer methods of psychotherapy can be successfully utilized. Perhaps the

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most important result of these Chicago studies was a demonstration of the great value of extending dynamic psychotherapy to acute, mild-chronic and incipient cases which do not need the same prolonged treatment in daily interviews as most severe chronic psychoneurotics. The therapeutic chances of such patients are extremely good. From the broad social point of view, the value of helping such patients is much greater than helping the severe chronic cases, for two main reasons: (a) The number of these acute and milder types of cases at the present phase of our cultural development is extremely great, much greater than that of severe chronic cases; (b) These emotionally disturbed people who do not suffer from an easily definable neurosis, and also the incipient cases, are active in life and exert an influence as fathers and mothers, employers and executives, foremen and laborers, statesmen, politicians and teachers, physicians, lawyers and ministers; their influence upon the life of a nation is greater than that of the severely incapacitated psychoneurotics. A great number of the latter have ceased, almost like the psychotics, to participate actively in life. A severe psychoneurosis is nearly equivalent to the hospitalization of the psychotic, inasmuch as it makes these patients just as isolated as if they were hospitalized. In fact, a severe chronic neurotic withdrawal means a greater isolation than a temporary hospitalization. In contrast to these patients, the great number of emotionally disturbed persons who do not fall under any definite psychiatric classification and who have not been recognized by others or themselves as emotionally disturbed, continue to participate in the arena of social life and have an incalculable effect on society.

Life in our machine age is becoming more and more complex. The interdependence of the members of society becomes more and more intricate. Self-sufficiency has almost completely disappeared and we are, to an extreme degree, dependent upon each other; life has become far removed from each one's providing his fundamental needs for himself. And yet, in spite of the great interdependence, in a free and competitive society we are at the same time friends and rivals; we live in an "antagonistic coöperation" with our fellow men. Our conflicting social standards contribute more than anything else to that emotional insecurity which is found as the most common basis of neurotic disturbance. Years ago I found this conflict between help-seeking dependence and self-asserting rivalry as the nuclear conflict in such widely different conditions as neurotic criminality and peptic ulcers. Many neurotic delinquents commit their aggressive anti-social acts under the impulse to prove to themselves their courage and independence and to compensate for their desperate but internally repudiated dependent wish to seek love and help from others. And similarly, many sufferers from peptic ulcer (stomach ulcer), at closer inspection display a similar conflict, only in a socially acceptable form. They also defend themselves against their excessive emotional need for being loved by an exaggerated display of efficiency and accomplishment. They heap more responsibilities on their shoulders than they can stand, until the original repressed tendency for rest and help becomes excessive. This constant, never sufficiently relieved, desire to be loved mobilizes their digestive functions in an excess—the wish to be loved being linked since early childhood with the wish to be fed—and eventually leads to organic changes in the stomach and duodenum. But in other very common psychosomatic disturbances we have also found, in the Chicago Institute studies, the same basic conflict in different manifestations. Patients suffering from essential hypertensions (chronic high blood pressure which is not caused by heart or kidney disease) are caught between their hostile competitive tendencies and their passive dependent wishes. Moreover the same conflict in different shades with different defenses of the Ego, appears in an overwhelming number of more or less neurotic persons. We can say without any exaggeration that we deal here with one of the fundamental conflicts characteristic of our present cultural era.

Not only in the microcosmos of the individual is this same conflict a central issue, but it confronts us on a grandiose scale in the macrocosmos of international relationships. Here also we are witnessing in a magnified form the impasse in which humanity finds itself: in the midst of a global conflict there is the desperate desire for friendly coöperation and peace which is so hopelessly obstructed by relentless nationalistic competition and the universal disinclination to renounce any part of national sovereignty. National sovereignty is nothing but a legal expression for our deeply ingrained individualistic self-assertion. Without wanting to debate here the desirability of such a complete national sovereignty, we only mention the great emotional difficulties which arise from the fact that we basically individualistic human beings are coming to live in a more and more interdependent world of intricate personal interrelationships. This dilemma has become even greater since technical developments have brought the different nations into close interrelationship and made even national self-sufficiency impossible. To help contemporary man to find his place in this complex social structure without falling victim to the major easily diagnosed forms of psychoneurosis, but also to help him to recover from those insidious emotional maladjustments which are well-nigh universal, is the great future function of psychiatry.

All these problems of emotional maladjustment will be tremendously accelerated after the end of this war. Psychiatry will be called upon to contribute substantially to the rehabilitation of acute causes of war neurosis. Moreover, it must be prepared to give help to that overwhelming number of acute neurotic breakdowns which we have to expect in the coming era of reconstruction—acute neurotic disturbances resulting from the unavoidable dislocations of life caused by military service, interruption of civilian careers, improvised marriages and the loss of near relatives. If dynamically oriented psychotherapy should have to face this tremendous social obligation with no other preparation than the standard psychoanalytic procedure, which has been developed as a technique for the treatment of the chronic psychoneurotics of peacetime, there will be a fiasco of the first magnitude. Therefore, it is imperative to impress upon the qualified therapist trained in the principles of dynamic psychotherapy the necessity for acquiring methods which can be applied to therapeutic problems on a large scale—to problems which our civilization will have to face in the coming era.

FRANZ ALEXANDER

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The Bandwagon

Churchill used only two words of comment when a sniper fired in his direction as he stood outside the British Embassy in Athens Wednesday, the British radio said. According to the broadcast, reported by the Columbia Broadcasting System, Churchill remarked: "What cheek!"—*An editorial insert in an AP story from Athens in The New York Herald Tribune.*

Strayed to my farm—tan and white heifer. Owner will claim her in 10 days or hamburger. Nathan Fleming, phone 1113-2. —*From The Ottawa, Ill., Republican-Times.*

Don't Look Now

Dr. Virgil Jordan, president of the National Industrial Conference Board, asserted today that "national planning" means "personal compulsion and social serfdom." . . . "Most of the American People seem to be unaware that they have moved out of America and are living in this new social structure built on the European plan, mainly because so far the fiction of nominal private ownership of property and a large measure of personal freedom of movements, speech and occupation have been permitted to remain for the present."—*AP dispatch from Boston.*

Democracy in Action

The Idaho Grange in a resolution adopted at its annual convention asked that no more Japanese evacuees be resettled in Idaho.

Another resolution urged members to discourage the "renting, leasing or selling, of land or property to Japanese." . . . It adopted a resolution declaring the Grange "reaffirm its faith in our Democracy by opposing any attempt to discriminate between Americans on the basis of race, religion or color."—*An AP dispatch from Boise, Idaho.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Dilemma for Liberals

SIR: A recent editorial in The New Republic [December 18] recognizes that the basic issue in Greece is that of local autonomy v. British political domination of the Mediterranean. Although conducted more suavely, the Russian occupation of the Karelian Isthmus, the American occupation of certain parts of Latin America and the partition of Iran, represent essentially the same type of thing. Viewed from this point of view, the Peloponnesian war of 1944 condemns Great Britain only tactically—any strategic blame must be shared by the triumvirate. The present situation, and the situation which will develop after the conquest of Germany and Japan, are ideally constructed to create a dilemma for the liberals. Actually, foreign fascism is the only thing which holds the liberals together. Once it is nominally vanquished, they will be forced to detest the United Nations as a ruling power. Speaking, then, as one who shares their hopes, but who cannot share their delusions, I ask what alternative can be found.

We are confronted with an age of Metternichism. Idealism, whether it be socialist, Nazi, Oriental, or what-not, will soon be crushed. It is, therefore, most naïve to expect our new, practical rulers to permit local suzerainty in Greece, Argentina or Finland, except through Gauleiters such as they have already established in China, Mexico and Poland. Here at home, those of us who live in the lands of the victors will be guaranteed a high parasitic standard of living. The few who may refuse on moral grounds will find little help for themselves in liberalism: they will be unable to continue their political life through the petition and the protest—for their petitions will be filed in quadruplicate and forgotten and their demonstrations will be subverted with 3,000 passes to a technicolor double feature. They will be forced into the shoes of the men of 1848, and of the men of Athens of 1944: and they will wait in alleys with dynamite.

When governments are quarreling and weak, the pewter lever of liberalism can secure great reforms; but when they are united and victorious, the tempered steel of terrorism is needed. Once the primary disintegrating work is done, and the martyrs have been made, and the solid blocks of world unity have been pried apart, then there may again be a place in the world for the liberals with their ideals of humanity, reason and individual liberty.

Ann Arbor, Mich. FRANK A. HAIGHT

Reader Appreciation

SIR: Thank you for all of the articles in the December 4 issue, which have brought me pleasure, especially Mr. James Farrell's article and the book reviews and criticisms. There is very little other than publishing news published any more, even in literary magazines. Mr. Stark Young also is an exception in his appreciation and exposition of something other than the most obvious fact that a play fits or doesn't fit into the most obvious Broadway patterns. The article on the situation at the University of Texas [by Clarence Ayres], though I know little of the pros and cons, seems to broaden the story with a little truth, and avoids the witch-hunt aspect the newspapers have tried to give it. More than for the pleasure, thanks for the hope.

New York City DONALD WINDHAM, Editor, Dance Index.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

H. A. B. Jones-Quartey, New York City, writes to us on behalf of the American Council on African Education, of whose staff he is a member. The Council, founded by Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu of Nigeria, is devoted to "the dissemination of sound education among the African peoples as a realistic means of raising the standard of living in Africa." It proposes to accomplish this goal through the following program: (1) obtaining scholarships for African students in American universities and colleges; (2) promoting educational and anthropological research as a means of increasing cultural understanding between Africa and America; (3) establishing a center or hostel for African students in America; and (4) establishing similar research institutions and hostels for American students in Africa. Response to the Council's program among American educators has been gratifying.

The Otsota Press is planning to publish a series of books on American artists whose work it feels to be of exciting and enduring quality. The first of the series will be on the poet Kenneth Patchen, and the book will include biographical material, critical evaluations and samples of Patchen's work. Otsota will also include in the book reactions on Patchen from the lay public. The Otsota Press is located at 1030 Euclid Avenue, Room 223, Cleveland, Ohio. Contributions must be received before February 10. "Otsota" stands for "On the Side of the Angels."

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Books in Review

English Education Today

EDUCATION IN TRANSITION,"[1] a new title in Mannheim's "International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction," is a better book than it seems, as well as being very informative to an American. To estimate it rightly, one must pay attention to the structure of the argument rather than to the proposals and conclusions, which, as stated, look like what we have had for years in the American public schools, at least up North. The book starts with a vivid description of the chaos of the evacuation of Britain's urban children in 1939—the classes "lost," the teachers searching the countryside, the clash of urban and rural salaries, methods and knowledges, the social maladjustments of the billeting, the appalling revelation of the facts of London slum life, and so on. In the next section, "Recuperation," the author points out that in such a shaking up of the elements, many an attitude must be changed and many a natural idea emerge. For instance, he depicts the wonder and joy of the city child who sees the direct causality of country life and work, his gain in health, etc. The reader hopes that there will follow the radical but obvious suggestion that, since the farm is the best place for primary education, all children should be educated there, and perhaps even that the layout of town and industry must be replanned to make this possible.

But no, the author contents himself with following the course of what actually occurred, the "adaptation" to the evacuation, the blitz, the shelters, food shortages, the labor shortage, conscription. And this "adaptation" turns out to be the same things that we have improvised since the war in this country, and who would say that it has constituted a "revolution"?

Suddenly, in his last section, "Ferment," the author reveals that he regards all of this as merely "recapitulatory," and the revolution must press on—to what? To the raising of full-time education to 16 years of age, to the abolition of the dual Church and State system, and to depriving the Public schools of their preferential status in the government services. It is with a sense of pathos that one sees that the English are first agitating for what we, richer by nature and less socially stratified by history, have had so long and found somewhat disappointing. This does not mean that the English, coming to it later and with the greater sweep of a unified cradle-to-grave system, will not make a different thing of it. H. C. Dent's own philosophy is the development of free persons freely coöperating in such a way as to "harmonize the democratic concept with the fact of mass-industrialization." This has a suspicious ring. Is such a harmony possible under a system of remote ownership and control? Further, is it even possible with formal social ownership and control—unless there is a chance for continuous personal initiative in the running of small factories? More and more the writings of those who look for personal freedom in the conditions of modern technology, but *who do not go on to reanalyze the technology*, comes to have the ring of the sociolatry of Auguste Comte.

A. S. Neill's "The Problem Teacher"[1] takes us to a different world entirely, far from the stuffiness of White Papers to the breezy and playful atmosphere of immediate common sense, direct action, and truth (here not unmixed with plenty of crotchets and contradictions). Neill is the director of Summerhill, "that dreadful school," where the dress is careless, the speech profane, the insubordination total, the examinations flunked and the sex free (though he does not specify the conditions and the ages), because this is the way to develop independent character with vitality and guts.

Progressive education in America has lately restricted itself more and more in the interest of the pupil's future "adjustment to society." This has gone so far as to reintroduce spelling. And I have sat at staff-meetings where it was discussed whether to reintroduce "Mr."! Summerhill belongs to the old, simon-pure *echt* progressivism of creative expression and emotional release through plastic arts. Neill is not afraid of maladjustment because he is convinced that the unrepressed heart makes its adjustment and forces itself on the rest of us who are after all only sheep. He is a million times right.

Recently he has become (at 60) a disciple of Wilhelm Reich and in this book he espouses the Reichian theory that sex-repression is a device to dispirit the working class, inhibit its natural assertiveness and so preserve the capitalist system.

The bone I pick with this lively little book is both curricular and political. It seems to me that he disparages the acquisition of formal science and humane culture to such an extent that a youth is left with a mental and emotional vacuum. I doubt whether one can have independent insight and a free character apart from insight into the nature of things and freedom of destiny. What is it to train "guts" as such? Such guts turn up alternately in the Luftwaffe and the RAF. Socrates long ago showed that none of these virtues of character has a meaning apart from the knowledge of the good. (I don't mean to imply that one gets a "knowledge of the good" in primary and secondary schools —or any schools—but one can get a respect for subject matter and evidence.)

Politically, Neill falls into the booby-trap that no educational reform is possible until the social revolution, whereas only persons unconditioned by the present system could make a revolution. As an educator he should rather urge the teachers who believe in him to start right here and now with good educating, and go on until they get fired out of the system, instead of advising them, as he does, to "quit and get an honest job selling matches." Where's your guts, Neill?

PAUL GOODMAN

[1] Education in Transition, by H. C. Dent. New York: The Oxford University Press. 256 pages. $3.

[1] The Problem Teacher, by A. S. Neill. New York: The International University Press. 161 pages. $2.50

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Bellevue for Observation

Brainstorm, by Carlton Brown. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 302 pages. $2.75.

THIS IS another first-hand report, too literary to be a case history and too inaccurate to be a good novel, of that interesting state of mind which the publishers expressively capitalize as "MADNESS!" It is one of those books which contain every psychiatric ingredient, including a little bit of psychological truth contributed by the author; for its faults everyone concerned in its production seems more to blame than he.

Edited by Carlton Brown as a modest document of "timely interest," published as a kind of state-hospital thriller (entitled "Brainstorm"), these are the notes of a relatively innocent victim of current literary and psychiatric fashions, whose crowning misfortune is to have written the story of his tragic mishandling in the most chi-chi style of middle-brow art. It can be read, of course, as a shocking exposé of mental-hospital conditions, but the more shocking fact is that all the pressures of society—his own history as a commercial writer, his brutal hospitalization, the absence of any help from the psychiatrists who "treated" him, the dubious motives of editor and publishers—all these have managed to distort whatever lonely truth he might have gained from his experience into the easiest clichés of literature. Frankness in this genre consists in using four-syllable variants of four-letter words, in mentioning freely the "facts" of sex and emotion, while suppressing every intimacy of an emotional *relationship*. It may be that Freud only helps those who can help themselves, but there is more frankness in a paragraph of Henry James, who never mentioned sex by name, than in all the exhibitions of the psychiatric novelists.

Our sympathy is engaged, however, by the fact that the present writer seems such an average young man—an average New York intellectual, that is, fond of Picasso and Hart Crane—who had the usual amount of difficulty with women, and whose best impulses seemed to be always colliding, in the usual way, with society. One day, cutting a cross on his chest with a piece of glass, he set forth to arrange the universe more beneficently. The sun shone, flowers bloomed in the streets, and crowds of the pure in heart surrounded him. All might have gone well if he had remembered that the modern saint needs money. Set upon by thieves and bouncers, he entered Heaven as a "schizophrenic with a religious mania" and left it, for reasons best known to Bellevue, as a "cyclothymic with episodes." Having lived for a time on paraldehyde and bliss, he awakened, several miles away, in what is accurately described as a madhouse.

To be shocked by the news that the bars of our state hospitals resemble, in many ways, those of our prisons, or that attendants, like guards, take their sadistic pleasures where they find them, is worse than naïve: it is dangerous. It distracts our attention from the fact that we lock people up not only to protect society, but to protect this rapidly growing army of refugees *from* society. And before we can revise our attitude toward "MADNESS," we still have everything to learn about "SANITY"; to that end literature is a more enlightening mistress than the psychiatric textbooks. Suffice it to say that this particular patient spent a sufficient period of time in "coöperative" behavior, and gained enough insight into the mental processes of hospital doctors to have himself "let out on parole." After this recovery, he was careful never to have subsequent lapses in the neighborhood of Bellevue, and his lonely struggles with a suicidal depression make rather touching reading.

Books of this sort seem to be based on the notion that there is a special entity known as "psychiatric truth," which is different from or even superior to other kinds of truth. Obviously, to write an accurate case history of oneself requires as much difficult honesty as to write a first-rate novel. The tone here is that of a man who has learned to be contemptuous of his psychotic past ("I felt as diabolically ruthless as Eduardo Cianelli playing the 'Mad Doctor of Devil's Island'"), but who hopes nevertheless that you will find many of those psychotic puns and pranks pretty cute. All the artistic Valentines, the Greenwich Village décors and the bedroom murals are described in affectionate detail, but of the marriage nothing is explained except that "we were drunk when we met and largely drunk when we lived together." And since the writer has been unable to accept the past fully into his present, in terms of fully realized human experience, we can believe in his madness as little as we believe in his repudiation of it. In this chic literary setting, the terrible fact of his therapeutic imprisonment simply adds to our embarrassment.

MARJORIE FARBER

The American as Reformer

Edward Bellamy, by Arthur E. Morgan. New York: The Columbia University Press. 468 pages. $5.
Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics, by Mary Earhart. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 418 pages. $3.75.

ALTHOUGH Edward Bellamy was one of the most influential writers of modern times, he has never had an adequate biography. Nor has Dr. Morgan, in spite of careful work upon materials that might have made the definitive study, given him one. Instead he has turned out a series of topical essays, generally informative but often repetitious, on various phases of Bellamy's life. He has also worked into this book so much of his own social philosophy—which may be described as a sort of galvanized eclecticism—that its bulk is out of proportion to its merits.

Dr. Morgan's estimate of Bellamy is certainly not a low one:

> Had that field [psychology] continued to be his dominant life interest, his insight, his sanity, and his objectiveness might have made his work even more significant than that of Freud.
>
> . . . He was coming to be Hawthorne's legitimate successor. He had a quality of philosophic insight far superior to that of Hawthorne and was achieving at least an equal power of unadorned, realistic expression.
>
> When we compare degrees of originality in creation and in synthesis, we shall find Bellamy to stand high, probably superior to Karl Marx.

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Bellamy seems in fact to have been a kindly and honest man of extremely limited experience. His journals and reviews show a fairly interesting mind—a better mind, I think, than that revealed in "Looking Backward." To me Bellamy's Utopia, with its "industrial army," its air of regimentation and uniformity, and its *ad-hoc* solution for every human difficulty, always seemed to make socialism look depressing, and I find it easy to understand how William Morris could have called it "a horrible Cockney dream."

The charge of militarism which has often been made against Bellamy is largely substantiated by Dr. Morgan's study. Bellamy always condemned war as an institution, of course, but there was a good deal of the frustrated field marshal and strenuous-lifer about him. Failing to enter West Point at seventeen, he never lost his interest in military affairs, and in his final illness diverted himself by deploying toy soldiers on his bed. The real models for his Utopia, Dr. Morgan believes, were ancient Peru and Sparta. Bellamy himself answered the accusation of militarism by confessing his "admiration of the soldier's business as the only one in which, from the start, men throw away the purse and reject every sordid standard of merit and achievement." The conditions to which he looked forward, he added, "—that is to say, security as to livelihood, with duty and the love of honor as motives—are the actual conditions of military life."

The fact remains that "Looking Backward" has spurred generations of readers to some sort of socialist convictions. The immediate result of the book was the formation of a short-lived middle-class movement which, as Dr. Morgan remarks, did not accomplish any substantial reforms. Its greatest achievement, he thinks, was in promoting a sound American attitude toward social change and checking the growth in the United States of the "atavistic elements of orthodox Marxism." The spirit of Bellamy's work suggests that he would have approved of this interpretation.

Mary Earhart's portrait of Frances Willard, suffragist and patron saint of the WCTU, will seem strange to many of Miss Willard's present-day followers. WCTU legend has played down her "radical" social philosophy and stressed her alleged role as defender of the American home. In fact, as Miss Earhart makes clear in her solid but humorless biography, the temperance cause in itself was a secondary concern of Miss Willard, who was first and foremost a suffragist.

Before 1874, when the WCTU was organized, Frances Willard showed only the faintest sympathy with the so-called temperance cause, and on one of her early trips to Europe she even downed light wines and beer. At the age of thirty-five she turned to the temperance movement partly because she had lost interest in her career as a women's educator, but primarily because the WCTU gave her a respectable and conservative medium in which to propagate her then subversive feminism. Prohibition is a political matter, and it was not long before this clever strategist converted a great mass of her followers to women's suffrage and rescued feminism from the domination of disreputable agitators. Her chief contribution to the ideology of the temperance cause itself was an attack upon the almost universal notion among her flock that intemperance causes poverty, in behalf of the slightly less idiotic

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idea that poverty causes intemperance. By and large, she was a typical American come-outer. She dabbled in spiritualism, astrology, vegetarianism, theosophy and Bellamy's Nationalism, dallied with the Knights of Labor and the Populists, and even drank at the tepid wells of the Fabians. Her tense and somewhat melancholy life came to an end in 1898.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

The British Civil Service

Representative Bureaucracy, by J. Donald Kingsley. Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press. 324 pages. $3.50.

IN 1929 Lord Chief Justice Hewart of Bury raised the hue and cry of "irresponsible bureaucracy" in his "The New Despotism." He was soon followed by a galaxy of prophets of disaster. C. K. Allen spoke of "Bureaucracy Triumphant" (1931), and Ramsay Muir talked about "cabinet dictatorship" in his "How Britain Is Governed" (1930). Ten years later, James Burnham elevated these contentions into a principle of historical inevitability in his popular (and vulgar) "The Managerial Revolution."

Fortunately, the noise created by these writers stimulated more sober students of the administrative process in Great Britain to explore the adaptive qualities of political democracy to the social needs of the modern state, as well as existing and potential techniques of making bureaucracy both responsible and representative. Emphasis, however, was laid on the formal devices of judicial and legislative control. Although I disagree with Professor Kingsley's dictum that these devices are of "distinctly secondary importance," his study of the British Civil Service, in departing from the traditional lines of approach and examining the social dynamics of the administrative process in terms of prevailing class structure and class interests, is the most effective refutation of the bureaucratic bogey I have read.

The core of Kingsley's argument is that "the essence of bureaucratic responsibility in the modern state is to be sought, not in the presumed and largely fictitious impartiality of the officials, but in the strength of their commitment to the purposes that state is undertaking to serve." Because political institutions conform to the power structure of the social pyramid, the British Civil Service has been, and still largely is, the instrument of its creator, the ruling upper middle class. Its responsibility and representativeness are rooted in the fact that for the past seventy-five years, with few exceptions, the upper ranges of the Civil Service and the leaders of the political parties in power have agreed on fundamentals in the policies of the British state.

This thesis is amply illustrated in the first part of Kingsley's book, on the historical development of the British Civil Service in the last hundred years. I have always found British constitutional history of greater interest than that of any other country, and this survey of the evolution of the British bureaucracy, although written by an American, is in the great tradition of British constitutional writing from Walter Bagehot to Harold Laski.

If, for the layman, the technical questions of administrative organization and internal control, classification, remuneration, promotion, recruitment, etc., are less interesting because of the intrinsically dull nature of these subjects, they are nevertheless important because of the seriousness of the problem of how public policy must be formulated in an age of increasing skill-specialization and economic collectivism. The failure of parliamentary democracy in most continental countries, and especially in France, has made it axiomatic that representative government can survive only where the initiative for governmental policy is firmly in the hands of a strong executive. And because the political government is more dependent on the Civil Service than on the legislature, the central problem of democracy is to create representative bureaucracies capable of coping with modern needs and in harmony with those new social forces which are emerging as a result of the shift in the distribution of power in society from the middle to the working class.

Contrary to a widespread misconception, the administrator is in many instances in closer touch with the general public than the elected legislator. As a result of his intimate knowledge of public needs and his technical skills, the initiative in formulating policy has long passed to the "permanent politician," as Kingsley calls the civil servant. The administrator acquired this power, not by a process of usurpation, but because he is competent. However, the failure of the British Civil Service in the Second World War, Kingsley points out in a lucid concluding chapter entitled "Preview of the Planning State," has been as conspicuous as its earlier success. What are the reasons?

The British Civil Service in 1939 was still a hangover from the laissez-faire state. It reflected the class interests of the middle classes which, because of the property relations characterizing them, are both unwilling and unable to plan an economy for full production as required in total war. Hence the defects of the Civil Service, in addition, of course, to the conditions of bureaucratic organization which made for lack of imagination and timidity, were essentially the defects of the middle class. To quote Kingsley:

> They have been the products of those anarchistic economic ideas which had relevance in the days of liberal capitalism, but which are merely anachronisms in a day of cartels and monopolies. Civil Servants were timid in extending state control over industry because industrialists shrank from the implications of such a development. Civil Servants approached the problem of central planning of the economy hesitantly because the prop-

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ertied classes feared the consequences of such planning. Civil Servants were dilatory in the development of programs to increase productive capacity because the monopolists favored the restriction of capacity, even in time of war. And the Civil Servants behaved in these fashions, not because they were taking orders from the representatives of the vested interests, but because they themselves thought in a similar manner. They were immersed in the ideologies of their class and they behaved accordingly. This, in general, is the explanation of their failure.

The future of the British Civil Service, Kingsley concludes, is already determined by the economic changes effected in the course of the war, the failure of laissez-faire capitalism, the eclipse of the bourgeoisie as the ruling class, the emergence of new conceptions of state activity and the bid by the working classes for a share in power. They suggest the direction in which the British Civil Service will have to be developed to remain representative. Just as the state based on the power of the middle class required and developed a different sort of public service from that existing while power was concentrated in the hands of the landed aristocracy, the new collective age, with the working class as a power factor, will bring about a reform of the Civil Service from top to bottom. The planning state requires new types of civil servants, men of decision and dash, practical men who are specialists rather than amateurs schooled in political philosophy or the classics.

HEINZ EULAU

A Reader's List

AMERICA'S NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN WORLD TRADE: Planning Pamphlets Nos. 37-38 (National Planning Association, 50 cents). The NPA's Committee on International Policy reports on the prospects for American foreign trade after the war. The pamphlet presents a well rounded discussion of the significant relation of our foreign trade to domestic economic conditions. Despite the recognizable shift from a debtor to a creditor position, we still cling to the trade habits of the nineteenth century. Our modernized technology, the NPA correctly insists, cannot function in high gear hampered by an atavistic commercial policy. Although foreign trade seems to be a small factor in the total economic situation, it can contribute much to an expanding prosperity. The crux of the problem lies in the need to provide dollar exchange for other nations. This is not a matter of altruism, but one of Smithian self-interest; an extensive foreign trade may very well be the cushion that will absorb the shock of contracting war industries. Greater imports will raise living standards and conserve resources; greater exports will stimulate the capital-goods industries and aid in world reconstruction. The pamphlet offers a detailed and interesting projection of the probable course of foreign trade after the war. The level of trade will be high, provided, of course, we have a political policy that will really make us "good neighbors."

NO INFLATION COMING, by William J. Baxter (International Economic Research Bureau, 76 William Street, New York City, $1). Mr. Baxter is an economist with a curious sense of humor. All other experts, he claims, are preaching the wrong Jeremiad. Instead of inflation, says Mr. Baxter, there will be deflation. War bonds and money in the bank, therefore, are good. The author proves his singular theory of prices by evolving an exchange interpretation of history somewhat reminiscent of Brooks Adams' "Law of Civilization." The resemblance is entirely superficial. Mr. Baxter makes economic history a struggle for the control of cash, the lack of which has led to every depression. Business corporations today lack cash, and that will create a deflationary epoch. High taxes, renegotiations and high production costs (brought on by the "cancer" of unionism) have drained away cash from creative industrialist-engineers. The moral of Mr. Baxter's unique lesson in economics is, of course, that we ought to stop annoying American business with such iniquitous things as taxes and unions. Carl Rose's cartoons are not quite so funny as the text.

HOW WE LIVE, by Fred G. Clark and R. S. Rimanoczy (Van Nostrand, $1). The publishers' grapevine has it that one of the largest manufacturing corporations in America has distributed a free copy of this book to each of its stockholders. A careful reading of its deceptively simplified version of how our economy operates reveals that the rumor might easily be correct. The book, an elaborately prepared volume illustrated with some striking but meaningless

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woodcuts, is a shrewdly noteworthy addition to the recent literature of "free enterprise." The authors call for "a set of unmistakable economic words as a cure for the economic confusion of the world." Their supplication for semantic simplicity in economics is admirable, yet their own "dissection of the economic body" creates but greater obfuscation. The essential part of the book is a rather lame effort to vindicate managerial control of corporations. The quality of economic logic displayed is indicated by the implication that high wages cause unemployment. Nothing is said about monopoly, uneven income distribution or administered prices. These ideas perhaps are too complex to be admitted into the authors' putative economic analysis.

PAUSE TO WONDER, edited by Marjorie Fischer and Rolfe Humphries (Julian Messner, $3). "He who can no longer pause to wonder is as good as dead," said Albert Einstein, according to the blurb on this excellent collection of big and little miracles and marvelous and mysterious happenings. The 66 authors range from Ovid to Thurber, and the editors have excluded the "repeaters" so dear to anthologists' hearts. Of the many new to me, Oscar Wilde's "Canterville Ghost," W. W. Jacobs' "The Rival Beauties," Heywood Broun's "Artist Unknown" and a wonderful handbill (Anon., London, 1642), "A Blazing Starre Seene in the West," gave me most pleasure. E. H.

A Correction

In a review entitled "The Inmost Leaf" (The New Republic, December 18, 1944, page 840), Alfred Kazin was made to say, "But can't we ever study ideas as ideas without reflection on their origins?" Obviously, Mr. Kazin meant, and his typescript read, "But *can* we ever. . . ."

Contributors

CARROLL KILPATRICK is on the Washington staff of The Chicago Sun.

VALENTINE ACKLAND, an English poet, is co-author, with Sylvia Townsend Warner, of a book of verse, "Whether a Dove or a Seagull."

SIR RONALD DAVISON is a well known British writer and lecturer on unemployment and social questions whose books include "The Unemployed: Old Policies and New" and "British Unemployment Policy." He has lectured extensively in the United States and Canada and has played an important part in the work of PEP (Political and Economic Planning).

WALTER RAE, formerly managing editor of The Conscientious Objector, served a six-month term in prison for refusing Civilian Public Service. For refusing a physical examination after his release, he was sentenced to three years' probation, and at present is "doing time" as an orderly at a New York hospital.

S/SGT. IRVING FEIRSTEIN has been in the army for two years and in Italy since December, 1943. In civilian life he was a teacher of orchestral music at the James Monroe High School in New York City. He writes, "I never thought I would care to write, but the army has made me want to talk and talk and talk to as many people as I can. And the best way to do that is to write."

MICHAEL YOUNG, British journalist and publicist, is on the staff of Political and Economic Planning, whose pamphlets are reviewed regularly in our pages.

FRANZ ALEXANDER is director of the Institute for Psychoanalysis in Chicago, and professor of Psychiatry at the University of Illinois College of Medicine.

PAUL GOODMAN is an author and educator. He has collaborated with his brother, Percival, on a book on community planning, "The Way of Life and the Means of Livelihood."

MARJORIE FARBER was until recently assistant editor of The New York Times Sunday Book Review.

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